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THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND  
THE SYNOPTISTS

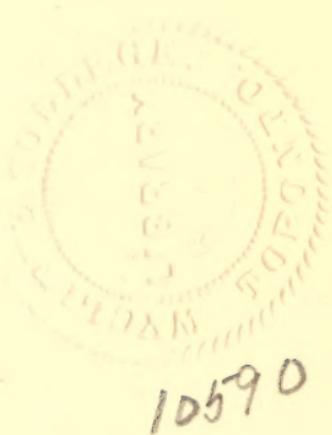


# THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND THE SYNOPTISTS

BEING A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF  
THE JOHANNINE PROBLEM

BY

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## PREFACE

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I HAVE tried in the following pages to deal with one single aspect of the Johannine problem; and it is one which seems to me to have important bearing upon the question of authorship. Moreover, I have rigidly refrained from entering upon issues suggested at almost every turn, in order that the main point may not be obscured. Any digressions which occur are, I think, absolutely necessary, as being strictly germane to the central theme. There is no claim put forward that the work is "specially original." Upon such a subject the desire for originality constitutes a grave danger in these days of "theories." Scriptural quotations are from the Revised Version. Footnotes have been almost entirely dispensed with; for while at times they seemed necessary, yet for the most part they are to the average reader "anathema." I am, of course, greatly indebted to those who have already written upon the Gospel, but I must content myself with a general acknowledgment.

F. W. W.



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# THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND THE SYNOPTISTS



## CHAPTER I

### PRELIMINARY REMARKS

AN attempt to put forth a handbook of New Testament Criticism for general readers has elicited from several publishing firms the information that they are unable to see their way to make any money out of it. The information was not, of course, worded as bluntly as that; rather it was stated that the reading public took no interest in such subjects. Whether this be really true of criticism as a whole, I do not pretend to judge; but it is certainly not true of the criticism of the Fourth Gospel. It is quite remarkable to find how often in ordinary conversation on the golf course, in the train, in the smoking-room, and in other haunts of public life, this subject comes up; and one is again and again informed by those to whom one is a comparative

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stranger, that they are especially interested in it. Of course there is a vast amount written upon one head or another intimately connected with this theme, and the theories which are propounded from time to time are often extremely fascinating in their ingenuity, while they are also as often rashly audacious in their speculation. We are expected to offer excuses for maintaining any traditional views, and, further, to produce ten times as much proof for our side of the question as is ever likely to be forthcoming for the other points of view. We are constantly finding that such writers commence their works by stating that it need hardly be said that their point of view is that of modern continental scholarship, and all questions of criticism and introduction are summed up in such phrases as this, "It is scarcely needful to remind the reader that the traditional view (on this head or that) is no longer tenable." But a perusal of such works constrains us to suppose that the authors of these views are all content with the development of destructive theories, and, at present at least, have no ambition in the direction of construction. Indeed, Jülicher's remarks at the close of the prolegomena to his *Einleitung* cannot really be confined to the outposts of modern hostile criticism; it embraces a large proportion of modern critics. Loman, Steck, and even von Manen are not mere freaks, as Jülicher would have us believe;

they are the direct and natural products of the whole tendency of modern criticism, their deductions the logical outcomes of the extravagant speculations of their masters and forerunners. There is certainly no need to attempt to deal with all the different points of view from which the Fourth Gospel is regarded. It would need a very large volume, and such works have been and are being compiled. If necessity is the mother of invention, speculation is certainly the father, in this particular realm, the need in the matter of criticism being the production of something which may be called "original." There is a further step to which we are being blindly forced by our fellow-critics: criticism must be scientific. Here we have an imposing phrase smelling very strongly of the twentieth century. Science, we are told, is the master-power of to-day, and if our criticism puts itself outside the pale of science by its old-fashioned methods, then it loses its value, forfeits its claim to be heard, and becomes incapable of truth. We ask quite naturally, Who is to be the judge as to what is and what is not scientific? Science, surely, deals with facts. From known facts it produces by various processes after varied experiments newer and fresher sides of truth. It cannot bring into existence anything that did not exist before; it creates nothing. Modern criticism creates a good deal, if taken at its own valuation, and it brings

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into existence many hypothetical people for whose actuality there is no proof at all; but careful study very often convinces us that many critical speculators have "as it were brought forth wind."

One of the criteria of this demanded science is that we should start out upon every inquiry with an absolutely unbiassed mind, and in consequence it is argued that the work of many conservative critics is rendered useless or nearly so from the outset because they have a predilection in favour of the miraculous. Possibly there is such a predilection, but (and the "but" is a very big one) do not most of our friends on the other side start out even more biassed still by a very strong, not to say passionate, presupposition to the intent that the miraculous is impossible? We may cry "quits" on this "scientific" point, I think!

Well, let us endeavour to be scientific to this extent at least, that we deal with patent facts, and that we draw from them some rather obvious deductions. The obvious, I believe, should be avoided by one who wishes to pose as a genuine critic, the old rule of the textual critic as enunciated by Bengel, "*proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua;*" being adapted to criticism, though the results not infrequently justify the rather free rendering, "of all foolish hypotheses, commend me to the most foolish." This, of course, lands us among those on the "extreme left"; for our present purpose

we shall cling rather to the “right,” though by no means at all costs, and we shall, as often as not, be content with the obvious.

The general consensus of opinion among modern critics of the Fourth Gospel gives us a date somewhere in the second century, say 100–120. There are serious difficulties in the way of those who persist in advocating the later portion of this period, difficulties dealing more particularly with external evidence; thus 95–115 becomes a more favoured time. What difference can that last fifteen years really make? It is added purely and simply from a determination to avoid the traditional view. To say 80–100 were just as easy and would give just as likely a date, but unfortunately it is thus possible that we should find ourselves within the lifetime of St. John; true, the De Boor's fragment<sup>1</sup> is useful, but the arguments for the early death of the Apostle are not very strong. We can only fall back upon this as a last resource, though it is comfortable to feel that it is there. No, we will have no risks, 95–115 is a good safe date; we will leave it at that.

It is not contended for a moment that any such conscious reasoning has taken place in the mind of any particular critic, but one can well read something of the sort working in the minds of more than one person whose works have caused a stir, and whose

<sup>1</sup> See *Excursus B.*

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name bulks largely in the eye as one reads the "Contents" page of the religious magazines, or the publishers' announcements of forthcoming books. There is one more attribute which critics covet: they like to be considered "fearless." There is something most gratifying in reading of our work that "the subject is trenchantly dealt with; Mr. —— is to be congratulated upon the fact that he deals with thorny subjects with a commendable fearlessness." The old adage anent "fools" and "angels" often recurs to mind as one reads such critiques. Ah me! It is with much fear and trembling that the orthodox critic sets forth opinions which he knows will draw down coals and fire of sarcasm upon his waiting head. And yet there is no great need for fear. Was there ever a cheaper gibe than that with which Jülicher "disposes" of the argument from the medical language of St. Luke?<sup>1</sup> His opinion will have undergone revision since the publication of *Lukas der Arzt*.

Our first attention must be given to a brief examination of sources and influences. There is no question which bristles with more difficulties than this, no matter what book or writer we may be considering. What is "source" for the critical goose is by no means necessarily "source" for the critical gander. But let us try to place ourselves in the

<sup>1</sup> "We might as well say that Paul was a gynaecologist on the ground of 1 Th 5<sup>3</sup>." *An Introduction to the N.T.* (E.T.), p. 448.

position of a man living about 80–120 (there shall be no skimping in the matter of period) who wishes to write a life of Christ. Such a man has certain obvious sources. He has, at any rate, beyond reasonable shadow of doubt the Marcan narrative. But there are two other Gospel narratives, both of them later than St. Mark, since they both make use of his work. This is now one of the axioms of criticism. But how much later? The probability is that the work of these other two evangelists was at the disposal of the author of the Fourth Gospel. The main question, however, is this, Did he use them? The only method of ascertaining this is to carefully compare the two works, and we find as the result of careful search that in the Fourth Gospel there is no conscious use made of any of that part of the first Gospel which is peculiar to itself. It might be argued from this that our author knew nothing of the first Gospel, and that, therefore, it was not written. Such an argument will not stand in the light of the fact that, at any rate, he must have known that Hebrew Matthæan work which forms the substratum of that which we call St. Matthew's Gospel, as well as it was known to the final editor of that Gospel and to Papias. Further still, the Logia in the Fourth Gospel are utterly dissimilar from the Logia of the first in style and in matter. Only one solution is possible: there is deliberate purpose here. With that we must rest content at

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present, for the full meaning of the purpose comes later.

We may examine in some detail the points of contact between the two Gospel narratives. They are very slight.

(a) In Mt 14<sup>24</sup> we have a somewhat remarkable variant reading. The Textus Receptus reads, "the boat was now in the midst of the sea," which is supported by the best MS. evidence, *i.e.* Σ C E F<sup>1</sup> and other uncials together with the Latin versions, while D is almost the same. This is the undisputed reading in St. Mark. Here, however, we have in B 13 124 238 346, together with the Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac, the reading, "was many furlongs distant from the land." This is curiously like Jn 6<sup>19</sup>, where we read, "When therefore they had rowed about five and twenty or thirty furlongs."

Westcott and Hort place the variant in the text of St. Matthew, and the received reading in the margin. Considering that the Matthæan author used the second Gospel, it seems more probable that the received text is correct here; we must suppose that an early copyist remembered the Johannine exactness and set down the variant either in his text or in the margin. Such a prototype is not forthcoming unless B be it.

Another curious MS. phenomenon lends colour to this supposition in so far as it is only capable of

<sup>1</sup> See *Excursus A.*

a similar explanation. In Mt 27<sup>49</sup> certain MSS. (§ B C L U Γ 5 48 67 115 127) conclude the verse with the addition of "and another took a spear and pierced His side, and there came out water and blood," which is obviously taken from Jn 19<sup>34</sup>. It is omitted by the Western text as represented by A D al Syr<sup>sin</sup> and others, and is therefore omitted by Westcott and Hort as a Western non-interpolation. Of course the evidence for the passage is very strong, so that the MS. upon which it first appeared must have been an important one. It is only possible to suppose, however, that it is due to the error on the part of a scribe.

There are several verbal coincidences to be found which are worthy of notice.

(b)      Mt 11<sup>27</sup>.

All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father : and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father ; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will-  
eth to reveal *Him*.

Jn 3<sup>35</sup>.

The Father loveth the Son,  
and hath given all things into  
His hand.

Jn 6<sup>46</sup>.

Not that any man hath seen  
the Father, save He which is  
from God, He hath seen the  
Father.

The passage in St. Matthew forms part of a little bunch of Logia (vv.<sup>25-30</sup>) which the editor of that Gospel seemed unable to place satisfactorily. He vaguely introduces them with the remark, "At that season Jesus answered and said." The foregoing Logia are not spoken of as being delivered at any

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particular place, the Evangelist contenting himself with saying that Christ had gone to "teach and preach in their cities." V.<sup>27</sup> in St. Matthew is thus represented by two different passages in St. John, and in both cases in the last named Gospel we find that they form a part of a well-regulated discourse delivered at a given time and at a definite place. Our Lord probably delivered His discourses more than once; and though we have no knowledge of the exact nature of the Hebrew Logia, yet to judge from the use made of them by the editor of the first Gospel when contrasted with that made by St. Luke, they must have existed in different recensions. Vv.<sup>28-30</sup> in St. Matthew have no connection with the preceding passage, and remarkable parallels are to be found in Ecclesiasticus chs. 50. 51 (see Allen, *St. Matthew*, p. 124). There is no evidence here that the Fourth Evangelist used either our first Gospel or the Matthæan Logia.

(c) Mt 13<sup>55. 56.</sup>

Is not this the carpenter's son ? is not His mother called Mary ? and His brethren, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas ? And His sisters, are they not all with us ? Whence then hath this man all these things ?

Jn 6<sup>42.</sup>

And they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know ? how doth He now say, I am come down out of heaven ?

In the first Gospel we are told that Jesus had come to "His own country," in the Fourth that these

events took place at Capharnaum. The context of the one passage is entirely different from that of the other, and there is nothing here which implies that the fourth Evangelist is making a conscious use of the work of the first.

(d)      Mt 15<sup>13</sup>.

But He answered and said, Every plant which My heavenly Father planted not, shall be rooted up.

Jn 15<sup>2</sup>.

Every branch in Me that beareth no fruit, He taketh it away: and every *branch* that beareth fruit, He cleanseth it, that it may bear more fruit.

Again, the context is altogether different in the two passages. The importance of this similarity of language lies in the fact that we have here a passage in that portion of the Fourth Gospel which is essentially peculiar to it. We are constantly being told that the Christ who spoke these discourses is so far removed from the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels as to make it impossible to suppose that one Person is historically represented by the two accounts. This is but one instance, and a very striking one, of the underlying continuity of thought which is to be found in the two pictures of Christ.

(e)      Mt 26<sup>61</sup>.

But afterward came two, and said, This man said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days.

Jn 2<sup>19</sup>.

Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.

We have here surely a very remarkable coincidence. It can hardly be contended with any

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seriousness that the later writer noted that there was no instance recorded in the Synoptists of any such saying, and that he therefore deliberately invented an occasion of the sort with an appropriate saying of Christ. There are some people who would be capable even of this, but an all-sufficient answer is afforded by the fact that if this had been a scheme which appealed to our writer, he could have found many striking incidents in the Synoptic account which could have been so treated. As it is, these undesigned coincidences are very strong links in the chain of the argument that the Fourth Gospel has as much right to be considered historical as have the Synoptists. In our Lord's discourses, as he records them, we find distinct traces of the Synoptic tradition so woven into the narrative as to owe their presence there, not to the fact that our author made use of the other Gospel stories, but to the fact that they formed a part of the life of the Christ as he knew of Him. This knowledge must have come either from personal contact with Him, or from an entirely independent tradition which flowed from such contact. We are assured by Weizsäcker<sup>1</sup> that the Gospel belongs to the Johannine school; we are thus a step nearer to the fact that it was the work of the founder of that school himself.

We come next to the connection that our Gospel shows with the work of St. Luke. We are now

<sup>1</sup> *Apostolic Age*, ii. p. 206 ff.

brought face to face with a literary and painstaking editor who is good enough to inform us at the outset concerning his purpose and his plan of working: his purpose—to deal fully with that body of tradition which formed the groundwork of the faith as it was catechetically taught to converts, his plan—to gather any other information at first hand, to sift and test the evidence, and thus to present a reliable story of the Life of Him in whom the writer and his *κράτιστος Θεόφιλος* believed. For one who was a stranger to the Christ, here was indeed a treasury of reference, a veritable mine of information. True, this writer of an account of all that “Jesus began both to do and to teach” had made obvious use of the Matthæan Logia and also of the Marcan narrative, but he had professedly bestowed the greatest care upon the rearrangement of this matter, and had further been at considerable pains to adduce fresh evidence, and thus had produced fresh data for the reliability of which he was ready to vouch.

Of how much of this matter peculiar to St. Luke does the writer of the Fourth Gospel make use? Not a single scrap, not an atom does he reproduce. There are many little touches which incline us to believe that our writer knew the third Gospel, but it is outside the scope of the present work to deal with them; they may be found in some such work as the late Dr. Salmon’s *Human Element in the Gospels*. But there are two passages where the Fourth

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Gospel comes into direct contact with the third, and in them the writer of the Fourth treats the other account in a most significant way.

(a) Lk 24<sup>8-12</sup>.

And they remembered His words, and returned from the tomb, and told all these things to the Eleven, and to all the rest. Now they were Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary the mother of James : and the other women with them told these things unto the apostles. And these words appeared in their sight as idle talk ; and they disbelieved them. But Peter arose, and ran unto the tomb ; and stooping and looking in, he seeth the linen cloths by themselves ; and he departed to his home, wondering at that which was come to pass.

Jn 20<sup>2-10</sup>.

She runneth therefore, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple, whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the tomb, and we know not where they have laid Him. Peter therefore went forth, and ✓ the other disciple, and they went toward the tomb. And they ran both together : and the other disciple outran Peter, and came first to the tomb ; and stooping and looking in, he seeth the linen cloths lying ; yet entered he not in. Simon Peter therefore also cometh, following him, and entered into the tomb ; and he beholdeth the linen cloths lying, and the napkin, that was upon His head, not lying with the linen cloths, but rolled up in a place by itself. Then entered in therefore the other disciple also, which came first to the tomb, and he saw, and believed. For as yet they knew not the scripture, that He must rise again from the dead. So the disciples went away again unto their own home.

It is evident that the Fourth Gospel here impinges upon the other account, but it is as evident that

the writer is very far from copying anything that he finds in St. Luke's story. Rather he makes very important and circumstantial additions to that story without repeating one word more than is necessary of what he had before him. We shall see presently that this is the way in which he treats a large portion of the second Gospel. But there are few more striking evidences of his deliberate intention to supplement existing accounts than these. He omits the vision of angels which the women beheld, for it has been adequately told by St. Luke; he corrects the general and somewhat confused statement of St. Luke as to the course of action taken by them, pointing out that it was St. Mary Magdalene who came with the message, and that she came to St. Peter and to *the writer himself*; he then recounts exactly what happened when he and his friend arrived at the tomb, and goes on to relate the experience of St. Mary Magdalene afterwards in detail, whereas St. Mark merely records an appearance of the risen Lord to her.

The same plan is very noticeable in the following passages:

(b) Lk 24<sup>36-43</sup>.

Jn 20<sup>19-25</sup>.

And as they spake these things, He Himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they beheld a spirit. And He said unto

When therefore it was evening, on that day, the first day of the week, and when the doors were shut where the disciples were, for fear of the Jews, Jesus came and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be

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them, Why are ye troubled? and wherefore do reasonings arise in your heart? See My hands and My feet, that it is I Myself: handle Me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold Me having. And when He had said this, He showed them His hands and His feet. And while they still disbelieved for joy, and wondered, He said unto them, Have ye here anything to eat? And they gave Him a piece of a broiled fish. And He took it, and did eat before them.

unto you. And when He had said this, He shewed unto them His hands and His side. The disciples therefore were glad, when they saw the Lord. Jesus therefore said to them again, Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.

But Thomas, one of the Twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came. The other disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen the Lord. But he said unto them, Except I shall see in His hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into His side, I will not believe.

What wonderful care is exercised here in simply adding to the recorded events! The pierced side, the joy of the assembled band, the delegation of the Divine authority, the convincing of the doubting St. Thomas are fresh items, not woven into a fresh account but added to the existing one, v.<sup>19</sup> being parallel to St. Luke to make clear the occasion of these events.

Coincidence is no more a reasonable explanation

here than in other places, since we not only have these most remarkable instances with regard to St. Luke, but, as we shall see, much of the second Gospel is as remarkably treated, in a way that will take no denial. We gain from these considerations the fact that while the fourth Evangelist does know of, and, to some degree, uses the first and third Gospels, yet he makes no great use of them. He is aware that the Marcan contribution has been accepted as the outline of the Life of Christ by the other two, and he is content to treat that Gospel in the same way, but according to a settled plan of his own, the investigation of which is the purpose of this book.

Here, then, was a genuine source of which the writer of the Fourth Gospel made real use, though his use differed entirely from that of the other two. His method was his own, and was justifiable if his claim to be an eye-witness was a true one. But outside the matter traceable in any degree in any or all of the Synoptists, we have a mass of entirely fresh information. The source of this must be either (1) oral tradition, or else (2) some other written Gospel or fragments;<sup>1</sup> if these fail it can only be

<sup>1</sup> This is akin to the theory which Wendt so laboriously and ingeniously maintains, *i.e.* that an authentic Johannine work underlies the present Gospel. It is not part of our present purpose to continually refer to the many theorists, as such a practice means the piling up of many names (a comparatively easy task), which only serves to confuse and worry the average reader. Those conversant with the theories will recognize them, while those who

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explained as either the personal reminiscences of the writer, or the creation of his own imaginative brain.

Now suppositions 1 and 2 are scarcely tenable. The time of writing possible for this Gospel synchronizes too nearly with the first and third Gospels. They contain no hint of the fact that the writers knew of the existence of such works or tradition. St. Luke's preface is too definite to allow us to suppose that he knew of all this, but made no use of it; still less is it possible to support the hypothesis that it was unknown to him, but extant. No, we must wipe out the possibility of either written or oral tradition. Did the writer, then, hear and see these things himself, or did he simply invent them? Ay, there's the rub!

Our first purpose is to prove that the writer recorded his own experience with a well-defined purpose. Now, if St. John was living when St. Luke wrote his Gospel, to whom would he be more likely to go in his keen search for accuracy than to that person who, to his certain knowledge, had been one of the Twelve, and was fully qualified, therefore, to help in the compilation of the fresh Gospel-story? We do not remember having seen this question set

are not will be no worse off than they were, and will be saved the bother of exploring needless bypaths. Those, on the other hand, who wish to pursue the search more deeply may consult Watkins' *Bampton Lectures*, Sanday or Drummond on the Fourth Gospel, or Moffatt's *Historical N.T.* In the last-named work they will find chapter and verse for every statement.

out before. If St. John had been alive, and did assist St. Luke, then the Fourth Gospel is by another hand ; and yet, would not St. Luke have been glad enough to refer to St. John by name as his authority ? I think so. St. John, then, I think we may safely say, had no hand in the compilation of the third Gospel. Now, if St. John had been alive, he must have given as a reason for not assisting the fact that he also was contemplating writing his memoirs, and St. Luke would have had, perforce, to be content with that. There remains, of course, the possibility that St. John was dead.

Our second purpose is to show that the internal evidence of the Gospel itself, viewed in the light of the writer's plan, makes for the Johannine authorship.

We pass to the question of influences. It is customary to give the chief place among the influences noticeable in the Gospel to the Alexandrian philosophy, which is usually summed up in the name of that foremost of its exponents, Philo. We are all slaves to custom, and the more passionately people claim that they are breaking away from all the traditions of an ignoble past, the more we find that they are victims of that well-established law, "history repeats itself." It is as true of modern criticism, with all its wild excesses, as of every other branch of life and thought. We make no such claims and are content to bow to custom, so far at least as

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the primary place is concerned. Well, what has Johannine thought in common with Philo and his school? Oh! the works and articles written on the subject! The theories and speculations, the alarms and excursions! And when all is said and done, the whole of the many lucubrations serve only to emphasise the fact that the only thing really in common is a similarity in diction which culminates in the use by both of the great word Logos. This word occupied during the years 80–120 much the same position and influence in one sphere of thought as the word “evolution” has occupied in another during the last fifty years or so. It is linked indissolubly with the name of Darwin. But can it be truly said that every writer on the subject is radically influenced by the teaching of Darwin? Is it not more true to say that the word was a very happy one, and that it serves to fill a much-needed gap in the vocabulary of a certain cycle of thought? It has a history behind it far earlier than the time of Darwin, and it is recognized as a useful word by many who entirely disagree from the great scientist. I have even met self-styled evolutionists who claim never to have read a word that Darwin wrote; a possibly regrettable, but an actual state of affairs. To our author, Logos was a happy expression. Its history was such as to invest it with peculiar interest for those to whom he was writing; its special application to a phase of the Godhead would be the first note

struck in the minds of his contemporaries, who, in the main, had a knowledge of the Alexandrian philosophy, and they would also have a knowledge of the meanings which the Greek word inherited from its Hebrew prototype in religious thought, Memra. In short, that Philosophy was an influence for the writer exactly to the same extent as it had permeated the entire religious thought of the day. This does not preclude his having a thorough knowledge of the ins and outs of Philo's teaching ; possibly he had, but it does not appear in his work.

Much the same may be said of another influence which is invariably noted with much care, the Pauline influence. Naturally a wide gulf separates the two ideas, for the influence of St. Paul in Christian thought was paramount ; but it is still true that our author was just as much influenced by the Pauline theology, as that theology had permeated the religious thought of Christendom. What labour we bestow upon the minute in our commentaries on St. Paul's letters ! Page follows page of laboured reasoning to prove this or that shade of meaning that the Apostle attached at the moment, or in a special argument, to some particular word or phrase, such as *δικαιοσύνη*, *πίστις*, or the like.

Of a truth, I think that he himself would be puzzled to decide between the ingenious suggestions of countless writers ! Little did he think that he was providing coming ages with a set phraseology as he

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used current terms in a way that his contemporaries would quite understand in passages which pour out from his full heart, now in tenderness, now in righteous anger. And we treat such passages exactly as we treat carefully reasoned arguments, as though the Apostle after many scribblings had produced in a fair copy a well-reasoned essay, in the compilation of which every smallest word had been most carefully weighed in the most delicate mental balance. Would that it were the spirit of the age to judge of the correspondence in the public press in such a spirit! We might be spared a great deal. One is sometimes inclined to think that if St. Paul were set down to answer a modern examination paper dealing with the exegesis of his own Epistles, he would be hopelessly ploughed. We may take it, however, that the Pauline influence is quite marked; and it would be most curious if it were not so. Nearly all the literature on the New Testament and of the early Church is similarly marked in a greater or less degree. We naturally expect to find more real affinity with the great Apostle to the Gentiles in St. Luke's work and in Hebrews than we should in St. Peter or St. John. Now we notice that the figure of St. Peter occupies an important place in the Gospel. This is to a large extent natural when the traditional view as to the authorship of the Gospel is accepted; but the later we make the date of writing, the more difficult it is to account for this,

save by the hypothesis that the writer is one of the disciples of the Petrine school. There is, however, nothing of that anti-Pauline bias which would undoubtedly have shown itself in many little ways if this had been the case, so that connecting the Petrine and Pauline influences we might work out a new theory as regards the purpose of the Gospel, proving that our second-century friend was an intensely subtle person, one of that small school of peacemakers which produced the author of the effort after peace, the Acts of the Apostles !

Beyond doubt one of the greatest influences was the desire to bring out more fully a side of our Lord's Person and teaching which the Synoptists, in their ignorance of the circumstances, had omitted.

Here we arrive at the purpose of the present work. It is our desire to show that the author, taking St. Mark in the main as the basis of operations, probably because it embodied most succinctly the Synoptic tradition, (1) omits all reference to matters satisfactorily detailed by the Synoptists, though he makes occasional slight reference to these, as though he would say, "for further details see the other accounts"; (2) only repeats incidents already recounted by the others when he wishes (*a*) to make deliberate corrections, or (*b*) to supplement the narratives by introducing points which the writer considers were essential to a proper understanding of the events. It is further desired to

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show that the main purpose of the author is to lay special stress upon the Lord's self-manifestation to His disciples, as opposed to the manifestation to the world, which is the chief theme of the Synoptists.

It will at once be seen that if these contentions can be proved, the author must have written with the highest possible authority. Had the Gospel as we have it been the work of a second-century redactor, who has added considerably to the works which he has incorporated into the Gospel, there would have been a storm of opposition from the first, and many persons would have been only too glad to have such a weapon as the knowledge of all this to use against the authority of the Gospel, the Alogi, to wit, among others. The moral side of the question we need not touch, which is as well when we consider the peculiar attitude adopted by modern criticism on the question of pseudoeigraphy.

Two points need to be noted before proceeding further. First of all, we have seen that the contact with the first and third Gospels is comparatively slight. It is sufficient, I think, to show that the fourth Evangelist was acquainted with these Gospels, but we shall see in the next chapter that the points of contact with the second Gospel are definite and deliberate. I take it that the author of the Fourth Gospel knew as much about the origin of the other three as we do; probably he knew a good deal more,

and knew it with more certainty. At any rate, he knew that the authors of the first and third Gospels had used the second, and had accepted it as affording, in the main, a workable outline of the life of Christ. He was also acquainted with the tradition which connected this second Gospel with St. Peter. What he knew beyond this we have no means of discovering, nor is there any need for more. From these two things it is evident that he, too, was content with the Marcan outline on the whole, and made use of it, not in the same sense in which it was used by the other two, but he used it rather, merely as an outline which was in some respects deficient, in others incorrect. The points of contact serve to show that he is working upon the Marcan outline and setting the seal of his approval to it; the contradictions, on the other hand, show that he did not wish Christians to accept, on the authority of St. Peter, matters in which St. Mark was either working independently of his chief source, and so had gone astray, or else had got a confused and thus erroneous impression of certain events from his kinsman. The immediate cause of the errors is of no great importance; the fact that the fourth Evangelist sees fit to correct them is of the greatest possible moment, for he is deliberately running counter to that which is (and was) generally supposed to come ultimately from one of the apostolic band. Who can the man be who takes this upon himself?

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And, secondly, we have to bear in mind the fact that not one of the first three Evangelists was an eye-witness of the things of which he wrote. About the first Gospel and its writer we have not very much information. The much-quoted Papias is thus referred to in the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, "But concerning Matthew the following statement is made (by him): So then Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as he could (*περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ’ εἴρηται· Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσε δὲ αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἔκαστος*, *H. E.* iii. 39). These Logia are generally supposed to mean a collection of sayings of Christ which were incorporated into the first Gospel by the editor, and which were used also by St. Luke, a fact which accounts for the matter common to these two writers. It seems to me to be pretty certain, however, that these two used different recensions of these Logia, which in turn accounts for the different treatment which they receive, as well as for certain other differences of diction and text, an instance of which may be seen in the two versions of the Lord's Prayer given by them (cp. Mt 6<sup>9ff.</sup> with Lk 11<sup>2ff.</sup>). I am further of opinion that the copy used by the first Evangelist contained more than mere isolated discourses and sayings. The exact extent to which they did so is impossible to gauge, but we find the author

taking a passage of St. Mark and interpolating into it fresh, and sometimes remarkable matter. To label these "editorial" seems to me to be insufficient, as the editor would hardly so deal with matter which had behind it the authority of St. Peter, unless he had at least equal authority. Mere tradition would hardly afford such authority. Consequently I am inclined to think that we owe this fresh matter to the Logia; the editor of the Matthæan Gospel being a disciple of St. Matthew, who pins his faith to his master's version.

At all events our present Matthew was not a translation from a Gospel written '*Ἐβραϊδι διάλεκτῳ*: it is too fresh and original for that. So that St. Matthew did not write our first Gospel, though his name is rightly affixed to it, nor was the editor an eye-witness of the events described in his work. Our old friend Papias establishes the Marcan authorship of the second Gospel, but adds, "neither did he hear the Lord, nor follow Him" (*οὐτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὐτε παρηκολούθησε αὐτῷ*).

The only tradition that suggests that St. Luke was an eye-witness is one, quite fanciful and unreliable, which makes him one of the Seventy. His own preface is sufficient witness. He says, "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative (*διήγησιν*) concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-

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witnesses and ministers (*αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται*) of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first (*παρηκολουθηκότι ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς*), to write unto thee in order (*καθεξῆς*), most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed (*κατηχήθης*).” Had he been an eye-witness he certainly would have said so; witness also the introduction of the “we”-passages into the Acts. Professor Harnack now allows us to say that we have here evidence enough that the writer of the Acts introduces his own personal experiences into his history.

Opposed to this we have one plain and definite claim put forward by the writer of the Fourth Gospel, “And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe” (19<sup>35</sup>); and again, “This is the disciple which beareth witness of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his witness is true” (21<sup>24</sup>).

Are we to suppose that he is a liar?

## CHAPTER II

### THE OMISSIONS

THE omissions of the Gospel of St. John fall into two divisions: there are the events recorded by St. Mark to which he is all content to refer by a single reference; and there are the great points in the story of Christ to which only slight reference is made or none at all. These latter (such as, for instance, the Virgin birth) have been quoted as very strong arguments against the genuineness of the Gospel. We hope to show here that the omissions were conscious and deliberate.

It will be argued by some that there is no attempt to say otherwise, but that rather they feel that the theological bias of the writer made it necessary that he should omit these things. We shall hope to show that his plan was not concerned with any theological or Christological opinion, which were rather natural views of one who was under the influence of a closer contact with the Person of Christ than any of the Synoptists, but that rather he was determined not to cumber his account with unnecessary repetition.

Of the references to the Marcan narrative there are four particularly noticeable.

(a) Jn 7<sup>1</sup> = Mk 6<sup>45</sup>-7<sup>31</sup>.

Here we find the fourth Evangelist recounting the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand which is also told by St. Mark. But he does not go on as St. Mark does to tell of the events which followed the departure of Christ to Bethsaida. He merely makes it clear that a considerable interval intervenes between the events of chapter 6 and those of chapter 7, and he does so with these words 7<sup>1</sup>. He is more concerned with the course of events at Jerusalem, and has no wish to add anything to what St. Mark has said except the reason for his going to Jerusalem given in Jn 7<sup>2-9</sup>.

(b) Jn 10<sup>40</sup> = Mk 10<sup>1-31</sup>. Jn 11<sup>54</sup> = Mk 10<sup>32-52</sup>.

These passages are very important. If we take the Johannine verses, we see that in the first we are told that Christ "went beyond Jordan into the place where John was at the first baptizing"; in the second, that after the raising of Lazarus, "Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews, but departed thence into the country near to the wilderness, to a city called Ephraim."

We take the Marcan story next, and find that the first passage commences by saying that Jesus "came into the borders of Judæa and beyond Jordan," where certain of His actions and words are reported; while the second passage begins with the very

indefinite phrase, "and they were in the way going up to Jerusalem," which form the prelude to certain other events. Now the great importance of the passages is the bearing of them upon the very vexed question, the raising of Lazarus. Of this we shall have to speak at greater length presently; but there is also a noteworthy importance in the fact that the fourth Evangelist follows evidently the outline of St. Mark, though he does not re-state the details, (why should he?), but rather adds things which are to his thinking important, and which were evidently unknown to St. Mark. St. Mark has knowledge of the chronology, but is hazy as to exact localities, and the fourth Evangelist supplies these readily enough, "where John was baptizing," and "Ephraim," as the point from which Jesus started upon "the way to Jerusalem." The only possible motive for the insertion of these names is the desire to supplement the uncertainty of St. Mark from his own personal knowledge. The whole thing is too subtle to be the work of a mere romancer.

It is true that St. Mark's chronology is somewhat of a vexed question. Papias is reported to have said, "And this also the elder (*i.e.* John) said: Mark, having become the interpreter ( $\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{u}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ) of Peter, wrote accurately all that he remembered of the things that were either said or done by Christ; but, however, not in order ( $\acute{e}v\ \tau\acute{a}\xi\epsilon\iota$ )."<sup>1</sup> For the

<sup>1</sup> *Ap.* Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39.

whole subject of New Testament chronology nothing can be better than Mr. Turner's article in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

As a matter of fact it is not possible to determine the exact sequence of events. There is a continuity in the second Gospel which is not nearly so marked in St. Matthew and St. Luke. Further, the fourth Evangelist is evidently content with the chronology of the second. Mr. Turner says, "Even if the sections as wholes are in chronological order, the events within each section are obviously massed in groups" (*DB.* i. p. 406). This is really all that we can expect and all that is needed from one not himself an eye-witness.

(e) Jn 18<sup>1</sup>—Mk 14<sup>32-42</sup>.

Again a most striking instance is presented of the purpose of the fourth Evangelist. St. Mark distinctly says that St. John was one of those taken to observe more closely the Agony in the Garden. The Fourth Gospel is so written that from very early times it was supposed to be the work of St. John; if it were not his work, at least the author was of the "Johannine school," and wished his work to be intimately connected with the authority of that Apostle. Could such a person have failed to give some sort of account of this extraordinary event with which the Marcan narrative so closely connected him? The same is true as we shall see of the Transfiguration. The only

possible explanation of the fact that the Johannine account takes us to Gethsemane and passes on to the betrayal (with its special Johannine feature), is that the writer was quite content with the Petrine (?) account of the Agony given by St. Mark, and had no wish to repeat uselessly the details. This is quite plain and simple as an explanation; the only possible objection is that it is too obvious. We will endeavour to bear the weight of such a criticism philosophically.

(d) Jn 19<sup>16, 17</sup> = Mk 15<sup>15-23</sup>.

Here the fourth Evangelist again omits the recital of two important incidents, the mockery and the laying of the cross upon Simon. He does not deny that these took place or betray ignorance of them. If it were the only passage of the kind we should certainly lay this last to his charge, but we have ample evidence in the above instances to prove that he is acting according to a well-defined plan. The passages we have reviewed are too striking and too frequent to allow of the suggestion of coincidence. "The long arm" has become proverbial, but there are limits to its length, and to the credulity of the thoughtful, modern fiction and drama notwithstanding.

This is but one portion, and a small one, of our argument, which grows in strength as we go on; but we maintain that we have here strong proof of the fact that the fourth Evangelist knew of the Marcan

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narrative, wrote his book with that in view, and being content in the main with the chronological outline of that writer, referred at certain points to the already existing story. He did not wish uselessly to repeat words or incidents, with the account of which he is well satisfied; thus in the above passages he says in effect, "For further details see St. Mark."

There are other events omitted in the Gospel to which there is either no very defined reference or else no reference at all.

(a) The outstanding incident is presumably the Virgin birth, an omission conspicuous in the writings of St. Paul. To this central truth of the Christian Faith the writer of the Gospel according to St. John refers only by the words "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." Here once more we are staggered by the subtlety of our second-century friend. He has two accounts of the birth of Jesus before him; his great aim is to emphasize the supernatural side of Christ's nature; he pens a prologue setting forth the divine attributes of the Son; he is especially fond of the miraculous, and yet neither gives an account of the supernatural Birth as it appears elsewhere, nor makes any additional comments on it of his own. Well, it is out of the question to suppose that he was ignorant of the story, whoever he was and whenever he wrote;

further, he does not deny the truth of it, nor does he suggest any theory of his own, he simply states that "the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us" and leaves the matter there.

(b) Other significant omissions are the stories of the Baptism and the Temptation in the wilderness. To the connection between St. John Baptist and the Lord there is, of course, reference, but to the Temptation there is none whatever. Once more, there are the Transfiguration and the Agony in the Garden. To the first of these we cannot fail to see direct allusion in the words, "we beheld His glory, glory as of the only-begotten from the Father." Such glory, no doubt, was shown by the life of Jesus in varying degrees, but the very history of the word  $\deltaό\xiη$  demands some more glowing and brilliant manifestation, just such, in short, as is seen in the Marcan account of the Transfiguration. The Agony in the Garden our author leads up to and then omits. Yet with regard to both these, St. Mark tells us of the presence of "Peter and James and John." The reason alleged on behalf of our second-century author is that his preconceived notions as to the Divine Man Who was the central figure in his story would not permit him to subject Christ to the humiliation involved in these experiences. This is too ingenious altogether, for the details of the Passion should have undergone considerable revision to be in keeping with such a notion; indeed, we

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cannot understand the story of the Death at all in this light. It would certainly have been passed over altogether; further, the Ascension would have certainly found a place in the narrative, and a most important place, for it would have furnished the writer with an excellent opportunity of adding an appendix upon the lines of the prologue, an opportunity that he would not have missed. But the phrase, "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," without further comment or explanation, is surely a deathblow to any such theories. The readers of the Gospel would be well acquainted with the extant accounts of the Incarnation. Their minds would at once fly to that; and had our writer wished to avoid such a thought, he would have been obliged to dissociate himself from any such accepted theory in definite terms. The First Epistle of John rather emphasizes this by the phrase "our hands have handled," since it, together with the word "flesh," lays emphasis upon the human side of Christ's nature. I cannot see that there is any desire to exalt the Divine against the human in the Gospel that is conscious, still less designed. The writer was perfectly content with the extant story of St. Luke, for he knew well enough that the writer of the third Gospel had obtained his information from the one person who could tell him, the Blessed Virgin herself. I do not believe that the story was found by him in any written source or any form of oral

tradition, for we should have had other recensions, with the differences of detail which such a process invariably produces. If the Apostle St. John were the author of this Gospel, it would be most natural that he should pass over the Lucan account and thus tacitly acknowledge its accuracy, for it was to his care that our Lord committed His mother: indeed, there would be no need for further argument. But this would involve a prejudgment of the whole case. All that needs emphasizing at this period is this, that whoever the writer was he is evidently cognisant of and in agreement with the story as told by St. Luke, and thus he knows that a bare reference to the story is all that is needed.

This brings us to the fact that his method of treating the life of Christ differs especially from that of the Synoptists, in that the Divinity of the Saviour is insisted upon from the first, while in the other accounts it may be traced in its growth. A very great deal of capital is made out of this by the anti-traditional school. Why? The man claims to be an eye-witness of the events he tells of; none of the other three writers were. He thus writes from the inside, they from the outside; he treats of experience and personal observation, they but piece together what they find out and hear from reliable persons and writings. Such, at least, is the result of the claim that he makes, and it requires

an enormous amount of disproving. The final relegation of the work to a second-century author would not merely mean that we have a work which can be wholly defended by the reference to the well-known practice of pseudepigraphy upon which Dr. Moffatt<sup>1</sup> is so insistent. The whole work would be a criminal fraud, and could never have been regarded as anything else; still less could it have attained the splendid position and authority it did.

The writer then tells us of the self-manifestation of Christ as it struck the more observant and more thoughtful of His disciples; the Synoptists record the impression it produced upon the outer circle. In short, the esoteric nature of the Fourth Gospel as opposed to the exotericism of the Synoptists is not a mere fancy, but something very real. It is one of the main points of his purpose in writing.

I say emphatically that the cry of St. Peter, "Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God," is not the almost fanatical cry of one who represented a band upon which a new truth had suddenly dawned; it was the enthusiastic assertion of a well-established faith, which had been born, as the fourth Evangelist tells us, at the very outset, and had been established firmly with the first miracle at Cana of Galilee, and which had grown only in enthusiasm, not in realiza-

<sup>1</sup> *Historical N.T.* p. 605 ff.

tion. They may not have had a perfect knowledge of systematic Christology, they were probably lacking in spiritual vision, and we know that their expectations were earth-bound. I fear that all this is true of a vast number of Christians in these latter days, who imagine themselves to be educated people. But their faith was there from the first, and nothing is more natural than that one who partook of it, and who wrote a Gospel after the lapse of many years, should speak as though the fullest appreciation of all that the Resurrection taught him had been with him and them from the first. There are moments in his writing when he realizes that it was not so, for he says as much; but he remembers as he plans his work many touches in every part of the Ministry when the Master showed His divinity, and remembering them he, with perfect naturalness, records that which he finds missing in the Synoptic accounts, and which he can see was vitally important in directing and controlling the course of events, but which was evidently unknown to the other Evangelists. All this helps to establish his claim to be an eye-witness. It would not only be an impertinence on the part of a second-century writer, but a useless impertinence. Weizsäcker<sup>1</sup> says that such a position is understandable in a St. Paul who had not seen Christ, but that in a primitive Apostle it is

<sup>1</sup> *Apostolic Age*, ii. p. 211 (E.T.).

unthinkable ; which, he adds, decides the question once for all. But St. Paul also claims to have seen Christ in His post-resurrection Self ; he is insistent upon this as something which makes him an Apostle, and gives him equal authority with the Twelve. Weizsäcker and his followers would smile tolerantly at such a claim, and mutter "visionary," meaning "poor deluded fanatic." For our purpose it is quite sufficient that the two men make a similar claim and adopt a similar standpoint. If it be insisted that the point is settled here once for all, it means for us the establishment of the Johannine authorship.

(c) The omission of the Last Supper falls in with one part of the writer's plan. He had nothing to add to that which had been adequately told by the others, and which also has support from the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. The noteworthy fact, however, is the addition of the discourse in the sixth chapter obviously bearing upon the Sacrament. It is to be noticed that here we have the expression "flesh and blood" in lieu of the Synoptic "Body and Blood," a phrase which has the support of St. Paul. The common explanation of this which is put forward by adverse critics is that the writer is using the terms in which the Eucharist is being discussed in his day, and has inserted this discourse as a protest against the exaltation of the outward rite. For this reason

also he has omitted the Institution. To begin with, it surely would be a very roundabout way of dealing with the prevalent errors, if they were beginning to exist. It would have been far easier, and far more effective, to give the Institution with fuller detail, to show its intended simplicity, and to add the discourse immediately afterwards. Indeed, it is practically certain that if the writer made up this discourse himself for the purpose named, he would have done this. The introduction of such matter into a public sermon would have been a very clumsy way of dealing with the subject, and one out of keeping with the supposed character of such a writer. On the other hand, the paradox involved in the dual use of the word "flesh," first as the food and then as opposed to the spirit, is a sufficient note of genuineness. The second-century writer would have certainly confined himself to the Synoptic and Pauline expression "Body." Nor is it in any way possible to prove the undue exaltation of the external rite within the possible limits assigned to this Epistle. It can hardly be doubted that Ignatius refers directly to the Gospel when he says, "Take ye heed, then, to have but one Eucharist; for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup to show forth the unity of His Blood" (*Philadelphiaians*, iv.).

There was no need for any further "exaltation of the outward rite," or indeed likelihood of it, after

the plain teaching of St. Paul in 1 Co 11; the full meaning of which is evident from 1 Co 10<sup>16</sup>, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the Body of Christ?" where very clearly the idea of the Body and Blood are connected, not with any special act of faith in the individual, but with the blessing and the breaking, in other words, with the consecration. The external rite could scarcely be exalted to a higher place than this. No, the whole discourse finds a proper place as we find it in the Gospel, and is a fitting prelude to the institution of the Eucharist the following year; and to conceive of this as the work simply of the writer of the Gospel is to me unthinkable.

The Supper is omitted in accordance with the principles laid down in this chapter, and the discourse is remembered, cherished, and ultimately recorded by one who felt something of the force of its meaning, but was not emphasized by those who did not realize its meaning or its depth.

## CHAPTER III

### THE SUPPLEMENTAL DETAILS

WE have seen that in certain passages the writer of the Fourth Gospel refers directly to the Marcan Gospel for certain events which he desires to omit, probably to prevent his work assuming too great proportions, or so he seems to suggest at the close. We come now to a different side of the method in which he treats St. Mark : his deliberate additions to the existing account by way of providing details which were known to him and not known to St. Mark, or overlooked by that writer. These are sometimes in order to explain more clearly the incidents, sometimes to show the evidence of an eye-witness ; whether that of the writer himself or of his immediate informant, I do not at present pretend to say. One thing must be noticed throughout, so that attention need not continuously be drawn to it, our writer repeats as little as possible of the actual words of St. Mark. He just gives us as much information as is necessary to allow us to see at once the portion of St. Mark with which he is dealing. This is, of course, very important.

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### (a) ST. JOHN BAPTIST AND CHRIST.

Jn 1<sup>26. 27</sup> = Mk 1<sup>7. 8</sup>.

At the outset we have a most remarkable instance of what is meant. The passages given above are absolutely parallel, there being only a slight verbal difference, while the later writer also adds the sentence "in the midst of you standeth one whom ye know not." But they are the only verses which have anything in common in the two accounts given of the relationship between St. John Baptist and our Lord. Our author is making it quite clear that he is referring to the same period as that mentioned by St. Mark, and he then adds to St. Mark's account (1) the explanation that St. John's account of himself was given in answer to official inquiries, 1<sup>19-26</sup>; (2) the further testimony of St. John Baptist, vv.<sup>29-43</sup>; and (3) its immediate results, v.<sup>44ff.</sup>. Our author makes it clear that this was not a public, but a private manifestation of the "Lamb of God"; and we gather from that that the Baptism was private also; St. Mark does not say anything one way or the other, though from v.<sup>5</sup> we should suppose it to be public. The fourth Evangelist tells only of two disciples being present when St. John made his fateful announcement; had it been otherwise we should have felt some doubtfulness as to the genuineness of at least this portion of the narrative, as we might have traced here something of that second-century spirit with which the Gospel

is said to be impregnated. As it is, we have only a confirmation of the esoteric nature of the Gospel.

(b) THE RETURN TO GALILEE.

Jn 4<sup>43</sup>, Mk 1<sup>14</sup> (cp. Lk 4<sup>14-30</sup>).

Again the Evangelist refers for a moment to St. Mark, both narratives agreeing that the Lord went to Galilee. St. Mark is ignorant of any events which took place there, while St. Luke has obtained the record of a preaching in the synagogue at Nazareth. The fourth Evangelist recalls that He had worked a miracle for the centurion of Capernaum, whose son was sick, in addition to the events given by St. Luke and St. Mark.

The fourth Evangelist has interpolated certain events which are missing from the Synoptists, as the conversation with Nicodemus and the events in Samaria. He does not recount the other matters told by the Synoptists, but gives the above details by way of filling in the blanks. In the quoted passage he returns to the Marcan outline, and again proceeds to supplement. There is no ulterior object discernible in the miracle beyond this.

(c) THE FEEDING OF THE FIVE THOUSAND.

Jn 6<sup>1ff.</sup>

After these things Jesus went away to the *other side of the sea of Galilee, which is the sea of Tiberias.* And a great multitude followed Him, because they beheld the signs which He did on

Mk 6<sup>32ff.</sup>

And they went away in the boat to a desert place apart. And the people saw them going, and many knew them, and they ran there together on foot from all the cities, and outwent them.

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*them that were sick.* And Jesus went up into the mountain, and there He sat with His disciples. *Now the passover, the feast of the Jews, was at hand.* Jesus therefore lifting up His eyes, and seeing that a great multitude cometh unto Him, saith unto *Philip*, Whence are we to buy bread, that these may eat? And this He said to prove him: for He Himself knew what He would do. *Philip* answered Him, Two hundred penny-worth of bread is not sufficient for them, that every one may take a little. *One of His disciples, Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, saith unto Him, There is a lad here, which hath five barley loaves, and two fishes: but what are these among so many?* Jesus said, Make the people sit down. *Now there was much grass in the place.* So the men sat down, in number about five thousand. Jesus therefore took the loaves; and having given thanks, He distributed to them that were set down; likewise also of the fishes as much as they would. *And when they were filled, He saith unto His disciples, Gather up the broken pieces which remain over, that nothing be lost.* So they gathered them up, and filled twelve baskets with broken pieces from the five barley loaves, which remained over unto them that had eaten.

And He came forth and saw a great multitude, and He had compassion on them, because they were as sheep not having a shepherd: and He began to teach them many things. And when the day was now far spent, His disciples came unto Him, and said, The place is desert, and the day is now far spent: send them away, that they may go into the country and villages round about, and buy themselves somewhat to eat. But He answered and said unto them, Give ye them to eat. And they say unto Him, Shall we go and buy two hundred pennyworth of bread, and give them to eat? And He saith unto them, How many loaves have ye? go and see. And when they knew, they say, Five, and two fishes. And He commanded them that all should sit down by companies upon the green grass. And they sat down in ranks, by hundreds, and by fifties. And He took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, He blessed, and brake the loaves; and He gave to the disciples to set before them; and the two fishes divided He among them all. And they did all eat, and were filled. And they took up broken pieces, twelve basketfuls, and also of the fishes. And they that ate the loaves were five thousand men.

At first sight we have here an exception to the rule laid down, for the fourth Evangelist narrates a miracle which is recorded by St. Mark and copied from him by the other two writers; but a closer analysis will reveal the fact that the Johannine account contains several fresh features. They are indicated by italics in the text above. They are strongly indicative of the fact that his account is that of an eye-witness. The Synoptic version, resting on the Marcan, is vague and sketchy; that of the fourth Evangelist gives important and personal details. The only points in common in the two stories are the amount of food available, the action of Christ in blessing and breaking, the number of the people present, and the gathering of the fragments in the twelve baskets.

The reason for the new matter cannot be said to be doctrinal; they are manifestly intended to be purely supplemental. There are details of places, "The sea of Galilee," "He went up into a mountain"; details of persons, "Philip," "Andrew," "a lad here"; details of time, "a feast of the Jews was nigh," "there was much grass in the place," and he adds a word or two as to the result upon the people's mind, which is not abnormal under the circumstances.

Our author then proceeds in the same way with the incident of Christ walking on the water; but his reason for the recital of these two incidents is very different from that of St. Mark. The more

we read the sixth chapter of St. Mark, the more we are convinced that it seems like the recital of a series of unconnected incidents; but in the Fourth Gospel we are aware from the first of an unifying purpose underlying the entire story. St. Mark, he seems to say, has given the text but has omitted the sermon; thus he is leading up to the (to him) all-important discourse at Capharnaum.

(d) THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY.

Jn 12<sup>12-19</sup> = Mk 11<sup>1-10</sup>.

How strikingly the treatment we have indicated is here illustrated! The account of St. Mark is plainly referred to for details in the expression, "Jesus, having found a young ass." A mere compiler would have either quoted St. Mark's account of the finding, as St. Matthew and St. Luke did, or would have had his own account. For the fourth Evangelist there is no such need. He points out that the explanation of the crowd is to be found in the fact of the nearness of the feast; and then also he introduces a fact unsuspected by the other writers, that the crisis had been promoted by the raising of Lazarus. This very important episode must be discussed at greater length in its proper place; let it suffice to say here that the impression left upon the eye-witness was that that miracle was to the people the culminating sign (vv.<sup>17, 18</sup>), and to the Pharisees "the last straw" (v.<sup>19</sup>).

The fourth evangelist's ὅντες differs from the

*δόνος* and *πῶλος* of the Synoptists. The close connection between the Lazarus incident and the entry is emphasized by the writer in the reference to the Pharisees on both occasions.

(e) THE TRAITOR.

Jn 13<sup>18-30</sup> = Mk 14<sup>18-21</sup>.

There is no need to quote these passages at length. Practically the whole of the matter in the Fourth Gospel is fresh; only the statement in 13<sup>21</sup> and the saying of the Lord appearing in St. Mark. The passage is important in its bearing upon the question of authorship. The scene is intensely graphic, and stands out in a commanding way. The tense feeling of awe and sorrow at the announcement that one of the chosen ones shall act the part of a traitor, the silent questioning glances, the gesture of St. Peter to "the disciple whom Jesus loved" and the symbolic action of the Master in response. It is far beyond all fictional art in the attractive and arresting simplicity of its portrayal; we feel at once we are reading the experience of one who took a part in the wonderful scene.

It is to be noticed that the fourth Evangelist records only one thing in common with the Synoptists, and that in identical words, being the saying of Christ as to the presence of a traitor. Jn 13<sup>21b</sup> = Mk 14<sup>18b</sup> (Mt 26<sup>21</sup>), "Verily, verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray Me" (*Ἄμην, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με*).

The rest of the Johannine account stands by itself in giving additional detail. The self-accusation of the disciples and the woe pronounced upon the traitor are just indicated in v.<sup>22</sup>, "The disciples looked on one another, doubting of whom He spake." That they formed part of what took place we need not doubt; but there was more that was not known to the other writers, but which the eye-witness sees to be essential to a full grasp of the situation; and he tells of this supplemental matter, giving the true version of the rather bald statement of Mt 26<sup>25</sup> "And Judas, which betrayed Him, answered and said, Is it I, Rabbi? He saith unto him, Thou hast said."

The editor of this Gospel is aware of the fact that the traitor was pointed out by Christ, but does not know anything of the means employed to this end. The fourth Evangelist, therefore, supplies what is lacking from his own experience in a way that carries conviction.

(f) THE BETRAYAL.

Jn 18<sup>2-11</sup> = Mk 14<sup>43-52</sup> = (Mt 26<sup>47-56</sup>, Lk 22<sup>47-53</sup>).

It must be noticed that while the Marcan story is the basis of the Synoptic, yet St. Luke has certain details which are peculiar to his work: the inquiry, "Lord, shall we smite with the sword?" (v.<sup>49</sup>); the healing of the servant's ear (v.<sup>51</sup>); the suggestion that the chief priests and rulers and elders were present (v.<sup>52</sup>), while St. Mark says that the band was sent by them.

The fourth Evangelist, on the other hand, accepting the main outline, puts in several little touches which serve to complete the picture. The points which he narrates in common with the Synoptists consist only of a word or two here and there to show that he is in agreement with St. Mark's outline; so v.<sup>3</sup> "Judas then . . . cometh thither"; ("they) seized Jesus and bound Him" (v.<sup>13</sup>); John, ὁ οὖν Ἰούδας . . . ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ συνέλαβον τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτόν); Mark, καὶ εὐθέως, ἦτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, παραγίνεται Ἰούδας· οἱ δὲ ἐπέβαλον ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ ἐκράτησαν αὐτόν.

On the other hand, he adds special touches even to these phrases, and fills in certain gaps in the Synoptic narrative; Judas knew the place as one frequented by Christ and the disciples (v.<sup>2</sup>); the extraordinary effect produced by the immediate announcement of His identity when they had stated the object of their search (vv.<sup>4-9</sup>); the statement that the captors consisted of a cohort commanded by a military tribune (v.<sup>12</sup>); the naming of St. Peter as the assailant in the short affray (how characteristic of him!) (v.<sup>10</sup>). All this is fresh, and yet none of it out of keeping with the scene as told by the others. The author is at pains to show that he merely wishes to make the picture more perfect. The accounts fit quite well into one another, so that they may be taken together to give a more or less exhaustive account of what actually took place. There is no

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doctrinal significance observable save by strained exegesis.

### (g) THE TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION.

Jn 18<sup>13-23</sup> = Mk 14<sup>53-68</sup> = (Mt 26<sup>57-70</sup>, Lk 22<sup>54-65</sup>).

These accounts include the denial of Christ by St. Peter. It is quite extraordinary to notice the care with which the fourth Evangelist avoids repeating the Synoptic narrative touching these last events which preceded and attended the death of our Lord. Just the same phenomenon as heretofore is to be noticed, only in an even more striking way. Here and there an incident already recorded just touched upon, in order to mark the places in the Synoptic narrative where the fresh matter is to be interpolated, and also one or two fresh details added about the incidents already told.

So he tells how the victim was led to the high priest, but is careful to indicate the exact position of affairs regarding that ecclesiastical office (18<sup>13-14</sup>): he alone explains how it was that St. Peter (and he himself) came within the danger zone; to the denial are added details which give vividness to the description, *e.g.*, "One of the servants of the high priest, being a kinsman of him whose ear Peter cut off, saith, Did I not see thee in the garden with Him?" (v.<sup>28</sup>); he tells of an interrogation by Caiaphas and its result, which is absent from the Synoptists (vv.<sup>19-23</sup>); but the rest of the trial he does not mention, nor the condemnation. They had been related

already, and probably the authority for the account was Joseph of Arimathæa or Nicodemus or some other member of the council. They would therefore be substantially correct, and might stand. The important point in this portion of the narrative is the identity of "the other disciple" (*ό ἄλλος μαθητής*) who was known to the high priest. There is no certain means of finally determining this; but, taken with other passages in the Gospel, it is quite evident that the writer means his readers to suppose that he is speaking of himself. There is nothing, however, to help us in determining who the author was in the passage, save perhaps his close association with St. Peter. Of this we shall have more to say later.

(h) CHRIST AND PILATE.

Jn 18<sup>28</sup>–19<sup>17</sup>, Mk 15<sup>1–21</sup> = (Mt 27<sup>1–34</sup>, Lk 23<sup>1–33</sup>).

The consideration of the discrepancy between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists belongs to another chapter. Let us notice first of all the points of contact. The Synoptists say that Christ was taken and delivered to Pilate, the fourth Evangelist mentions that He was led to the Praetorium (v.<sup>28</sup>); all four Evangelists agree in stating that Pilate's question was, "Art Thou the King of the Jews?" (*Σὺ εἰ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ιουδαίων*; Jn 18<sup>33</sup>), and the phrase is identical in all the accounts, but the circumstances are quite different in the Fourth Gospel; again, all four have the same answer, "Thou

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sayest" ( $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{e}y\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ); but the fourth Evangelist gives it as an answer upon the second occasion of the question (v.<sup>37</sup>): the custom of releasing a prisoner at the feast, together with the choice of Barabbas, is detailed at length in the Synoptists; our author just mentions it, and points out that the reminder came from Pilate, suggesting that he thought that there was here a way of escape. Once more, the writer of this Gospel tells of the crown of thorns and the mockery, but in as few words as possible, and he mentions it only because he wishes to introduce the appeal of Pilate to the populace in the *Ecce Homo!* of 19<sup>5</sup>. The delivery of Christ to the people's will is just stated in 19<sup>16, 17</sup> without comment; the Synoptists supply details, St. Matthew adding to the Marcan account one or two peculiar touches, while St. Luke does not use the Marcan narrative here, but has some fresh matter of his own concerning the women of Jerusalem and Christ's speech to them. The Fourth Gospel, then, has one or two links connecting it with the framework of the Synoptists, but gives in the main supplemental matter: we have here the private colloquies between Christ and Pilate (18<sup>28-38</sup>), and the appeal to the people by Pilate, and the reason of its failure (19<sup>4-15</sup>). The matter which he has in common with the Synoptists amounts to a few words only.

### (i) THE CRUCIFIXION.

The Synoptists give the account of the prepara-

tions, and the fourth Evangelist is apparently content with it. He proceeds to the incident itself, and adds a good deal of detail to the common Synoptic remark, “(and they) part His garments among them, casting lots upon them” (Mk 15<sup>24</sup>, Mt 27<sup>35</sup>, Luke 23<sup>34</sup>). So again, with regard to the title on the Cross, the fourth Evangelist only mentions this in order to give the correct title, “Jesus the Nazarene, the King of the Jews” (19<sup>19</sup>), and to introduce the fact that the authorities were not pleased with the form chosen by Pilate. Our author then interpolates the “Word” of Christ to the beloved disciple and to His mother; and tells of the offer to Him of the sponge filled with hyssop, in common with the Synoptists; but his purpose is to record another word of the Sufferer omitted by the other writers, “I thirst” (19<sup>28</sup>).

#### (j) THE ENTOMBMENT.

We have in 19<sup>31-37</sup> a supplemental passage bearing upon the authorship of the Gospel. It is doubtful whether the writer inserted it in order to mention particularly the piercing, or in order to emphasize his claim to having seen these things. Probably, though, the latter was an afterthought added at this point, because he here marks the end of a definite period in the story. His treatment of the events from the betrayal have been peculiar, and are very strongly marked in its characteristics, *i.e.* supplement and correction. He does not for a moment

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suggest, for instance, that the two sayings of Christ which he records are the only ones which He uttered. It is abundantly evident throughout that he is simply playing the part which would most naturally be assumed by an eye-witness, namely, to correct certain details upon which the other writers have been misinformed, or with regard to which they have become confused, and then to insert important details which they in their ignorance had omitted. The Johannine account fits in with the Synoptic, and the two together give an excellent picture of the great Drama. This portion of the narrative is perhaps the most important in proving this side of our argument, but it is also very strong proof in support of the writer's claim. The other narratives could not possibly be more naturally treated. There is every chance for a man to blunder, and blunder badly; there is nothing miraculous, nothing "second century," nothing out of keeping with the earlier accounts. But the writer's plan is evident, well defined and well carried out.

(k) Jn 19<sup>38-42</sup>, Mk 15<sup>42-47</sup> = (Mt 27<sup>57-61</sup>, Lk 23<sup>50-56</sup>).

**Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡρώτησεν τὸν Πειλάτον Ἰωσῆφ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας, ὃν μαθητὴς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κεκρυμμένος δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἵνα ἀρῃ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Πειλάτος. Ἡλθεν οὖν καὶ ἦρεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ. Ἡλθεν δὲ καὶ Νικόδη-**

**Καὶ ἦδη δύψις γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἦν παρασκευή, δὲ ἐστιν προσάββατον, ἐλθὼν Ἰωσῆφ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας εὐσχήμων βουλευτής, δις καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τολμήσας εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πειλάτον καὶ ἔγρήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. ὁ δὲ Πειλάτος ἐθαύμασεν**

μος, ὁ ἐλθὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτὸς τὸ πρῶτον, φέρων ἔλιγμα σμύρνης καὶ ἀλόης ὡς λίτρας ἔκατόν. ἐλαβον οὖν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἔδησαν αὐτὸν ὅθουντοις μετὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων, καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν. ήν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὃ που ἐσταυρώθη κῆπος, καὶ ἐν τῷ κῆπῳ μνημεῖον καινόν, ἐν φούδέπω οὐδεὶς ἦν τεθειμένος· ἐκεὶ οὖν διὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, διτὶ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον, ἔθηκαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

ἥδη τέθυηκεν, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν κεντυρίωνα ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτὸν εἰ ἥδη ἀπέθανεν· καὶ γνοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κεντυρίωνος ἐδωρήσατο τὸ πτῶμα τῷ Ἰωσῆφ. καὶ ἀγοράσας σινδόνα καθελῶν αὐτὸν ἐνείλησεν τῇ σινδόνι καὶ ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν ἐν μνήματι ὃ ἦν λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας, καὶ προσεκύλισεν λίθον ἐπὶ τὴν θύραν τοῦ μνημείου.

The supplemental purpose of the fourth Evangelist is well seen here, for he is detailing an event told at some length by the other writers; yet he adds new touches, and the picture is incomplete without his additions.

I have set these passages out at length, because being short they will not occupy much space, and at the same time the whole tendency of this side of the fourth Evangelist's purpose is admirably illustrated in them. The fresh matter in the fourth Gospel is in spaced type.

#### (l) THE RESURRECTION.

Jn 20<sup>1-18</sup> = Mk 16<sup>1-12</sup>.

St. Luke gives several supplemental details as to the Resurrection and first appearances, but the fourth Evangelist adds yet more. He connects his story with the Synoptic narrative by the phrase,

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“Now on the first day of the week, while it was yet dark” (20<sup>1</sup>), cp. Mk 16<sup>2</sup>, but proceeds with fresh matter as being, he claims, his own personal experience (20<sup>2-17</sup>). Again he touches the Synoptic story, but this time the Lucan account (cp. Jn 20<sup>20</sup>, Lk 24<sup>40</sup>), where we have a phrase identical in its first part in the two accounts, “And when He had said this He showed unto them His hands” (*καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἔδειξε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ*). But our author with this introduces the story of the doubting Apostle, St. Thomas.

The Johannine account touches the Marcan again in the passages, Jn 20<sup>11</sup>=Mk 16<sup>9</sup>; Jn 20<sup>18</sup>=Mk 16<sup>10</sup>; but these last twelve verses of St. Mark cannot be considered to be a part of the original Gospel, though no doubt they form part of primitive tradition. According to a tenth-century Armenian manuscript found by Mr. F. C. Conybeare in the patriarchal library of Edschmiazin, they are assigned “to the presbyter Ariston,” who may or may not be the Aristion of Papias who is closely associated by Papias with the Elder John. (See Swete, *St. Mark*, p. cxii f.)

### (m) THE APPENDIX.

The remainder of the Johannine narrative is purely supplemental and personal (ch. 21), and is most probably an appendix added by the writer some time after the Gospel had been written and put forth. The Gospel has a satisfactory termi-

nation in the last verse of ch. xx.; but certain reports have got about which necessitate an appendix. I do not mean that the incidents are the creation of the writer's brain: far from it. The reports that have been circulated have sprung from some things actually said by Christ, but misunderstood by the hearers of a later generation. The author therefore gives the exact words, and their bearing on the state of affairs when he wrote. I am quite satisfied that the appendix is the work of the author of the rest of the Gospel, and that it is all the work of one person. It remains to be seen who the person was.

The passages quoted above display, then, the following somewhat peculiar characteristics when compared closely with the Synoptists, and especially the Marcan Gospel. Firstly, the author uses certain phrases identical with those of the other narrators; he then proceeds to tell of the same events, but beyond the phrase or the word or two just mentioned he has nothing whatever in common with the other writers. What he says is not contradictory to their versions, but supplementary. He fills in the picture with graphic additional details, now personal, now local, each and all contributing to a better understanding of the incidents, and invaluable for a full knowledge of what exactly took place. The thing is done so consistently and the plan so thorough that it seems quite impossible to doubt that he is

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deliberately treating the Synoptists in this manner according to a prearranged plan. In every case he uses certain of their phrases in order to indicate the particular portion of the Gospel before him which he is treating, and then goes on to give us particulars which their limited knowledge made impossible for them. Now a careful survey will show us that the added details do not give us any grounds for contending that he has any theological or Christological doctrines to put forward over and above those presented in these places by the other writers; nor can we see any stage of later development in eschatological ideas, in church organisation, in heretical thought; in short, there is nothing anachronistic in character about them such as would lead us to charge the writer with exhibiting what our German friends so pithily call *Tendenz*. This is really very striking, for a writer who put pen to paper so many years after the events described, might so easily have fallen into this pitfall in all unconsciousness, to say nothing of the fact that here was a very great opportunity for the "tendency-writer." His purpose being then so perfectly plain, and yet as certainly artless, it remains only possible to suppose that we have here a very strong argument in favour of the claim which he puts forward, *i.e.* that he himself was an eye-witness of these events. Nothing could have been easier for a person who wished to have supported

such a claim by this supplemental method than to have overdone the whole thing, and nothing would have been more likely in one whose claim was false. It is the simplicity and strongly apparent truthfulness of it all which makes so great an appeal to me. I am bound to say that I am quite convinced by this aspect of the question that the writer has every claim to be looked upon as an eye-witness, and his record to be considered in the main historical.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE GOSPEL AND THE SYNOPTISTS

WE enter now upon a totally different region. The Synoptists are not always in complete verbal agreement, but with that we have not to deal. One phenomenon is very evident in comparing the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptists, and that is that the former is irreconcilable with the latter upon several important points. A great deal of ingenuity has been spent (it would be discourteous to suggest, wasted) in the endeavour to harmonize the two sets of accounts. It must, however, be borne in mind that the writer of our Gospel in all probability had access to the other three. At all events we may be quite certain that he knew the second Gospel. We are perfectly content to believe that they were all at his disposal, and we contend that he had given them all careful study before writing his own. Now the second Gospel was believed in the circle from which the Fourth Gospel emanated to be inspired by St. Peter. We may quote once more the testimony of Papias.

He has already spoken of John the elder (or presbyter), and then continues, "and this also the elder said, Mark having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately all that he remembered of the things which were either said or done by Christ (*καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε· Μᾶρκος μὲν ἐρμενευτὴς Πέτρου γένομενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα*), Papias *ap.* Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39).

This points to a definite early Eastern tradition connecting the second Gospel closely with St. Mark. The same authority shows a close connection between St. Matthew and the first Gospel, while St. Luke's preface gives ample proof of the care bestowed upon it with the direct object of making it as authoritative as possible. But the known resting of the second upon the personal teaching of St. Peter, as well as the fact that it was the earliest record, would render it the more valuable. This is evident enough from the use which the other two evangelists made of it, a point which need not be argued in these days. The discrepancies then are for the most part (though not entirely) between the Fourth Gospel and the second, since when the Synoptists agree we may take it that the incidents recorded rest ultimately upon the Marcan narrative, and are supposed to be traceable to a reliable source, St. Peter.

(a) THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

St. Jn 1<sup>32</sup> = Mk 1<sup>10</sup> = (Mt 3<sup>16. 17</sup>, Lk 3<sup>21. 22</sup>).

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The three Synoptists are in substantial agreement, there being but slight differences of phraseology and arrangement, with which we here have no concern. The fourth Evangelist has it that the descent of the Holy Spirit was the sign by which the Baptist was to know his Successor. It is the consequence involved in this that constitutes the main portion of the discrepancy, for it is contended that such a manifestation to the Baptist makes his unreadiness to baptize Christ inexplicable, since the actual Descent did not take place until the Baptism. Thus the Baptist would have no reason to suppose that the Lord was any different from the others who came to His baptism. The fourth Evangelist gives us no account of the Baptism itself, so that we must suppose, in accordance with our theory, that the author was satisfied with the existing accounts. The purpose of the fourth Evangelist, I take it, is this, he wishes to make clear a point that is ambiguous in the Synoptic accounts, where the nominative of "he saw" (*εἶδεν*) may be either Jesus or John. So he gives us a speech of St. John Baptist which makes it perfectly clear that it was he who saw the Descent of the Spirit; but in doing so he makes the incident recorded in Mt 3<sup>13-15</sup> impossible. Mr. Allen (*St. Matthew*, p. 27) marks this as an editorial addition, with which I quite agree. The difficulty as to why such a baptism, confessedly a baptism "for the remission of sins," should be

suffered by the Sinless One, was one which would naturally provoke much discussion. St. Matthew's account seems to show an endeavour to somewhat obviate the difficulty by omitting "the remission of sins," which appears in Mk 1<sup>4</sup>, but the design is not very successful. We have, then, an addition in St. Matthew's Gospel, the source of which is not discoverable, intended to give a reason for the coming of Christ to the Baptism of John, presumably in answer to popular inquiries upon this subject. The most natural explanation of the insertion seems to me to be that the editor himself is responsible for it. At any rate, the fourth Evangelist refuses this explanation, and substitutes another, which we may take to be the true one, *i.e.*, that the Baptism with its attendant circumstances was to be the means by which the Messiah should be recognised by the forerunner. His purpose, then, in this and in the following passage, is to make marked corrections where he knew the existing records to be at fault. There was no necessity for him to append notes to this effect upon each occasion. This was more than covered by his claim to record that which he knew from his own personal experience. The validity of that claim is not now under discussion, but the fact that it is put forward in the Gospel is indisputable. Thus the readers of the Gospel, when it came to choosing between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists, would have no difficulty in deciding for them-

selves as to which set forth the most reliable account of some particular incident.

(b) THE CALL OF ST. PETER.

Jn 1<sup>35-42</sup>.

Again on the morrow John was standing, and two of his disciples ; and he looked upon Jesus as He walked, and saith, Behold, the Lamb of God ! And the two disciples heard him speak, and they followed Jesus. And Jesus turned, and beheld them following, and saith unto them, What seek ye ? And they said unto Him, Rabbi (which is to say, being interpreted, Master), where abidest Thou ? He saith unto them, Come, and ye shall see. They came therefore and saw where He abode ; and they abode with Him that day : it was about the tenth hour. One of the two that heard John speak, and followed Him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He findeth first his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messiah (which is, being interpreted, Christ). He brought him unto Jesus. Jesus looked upon him, and said, Thou art Simon the son of John : thou shalt be called Cephas (which is by interpretation, Peter).

Mk 1<sup>16-20</sup>=(Mt 4<sup>18-22</sup>, Lk 5<sup>1-11</sup>).

And passing along by the sea of Galilee, He saw Simon and Andrew the brother of Simon casting a net in the sea : for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after Me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And straightway they left the nets, and followed Him. And going on a little further, He saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who also were in the boat mending the nets. And straightway He called them : and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired servants, and went after Him.

As we have already said, we have no present interest in the differences of minutiae to be found

in the Synoptic stories. The main point is that the fourth Evangelist differs entirely both in outline and setting of the incident from the record of the other three. We may be quite sure that the first and third Evangelists are here indebted to the second, and who so qualified to give an account of the calling of St. Peter as the "interpreter of Peter" (*ἐρμενευτὴς Πέτρου*)? And yet our author gives a completely different story. On the face of it this writer gives a far more likely account of what happened. The story runs smoothly, and it seems most probable that the exceptional phrase used by the Baptist, "Behold the Lamb of God" (1<sup>36</sup>), should arrest the attention of the two who heard it. But our author could not have been ignorant of the existing statements, nor of the supposed authority behind them. Now the writer of the Fourth Gospel connects himself somewhat closely with St. Peter in the portion of his narrative connected with the Resurrection and with the succeeding appearances. Thus he has every right, in accordance with his claim, to give a particular and precise account of so important an event as the call of that Apostle. His account, however, can only mean one thing, and that is, that the Marcan story is wrong. Nor is it difficult to believe that this is so. The second Gospel has many traits bearing out the tradition which connects it with St. Peter, but that Apostle is not by any means a very conspicuous figure in the

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Gospel. We can quite well understand that the second Evangelist had gathered certain rather confused ideas as to the incident in question, and to him it would appear most natural that his master received a personal call from the Lord rather than that he was brought into personal contact with Christ through the intermediary offices of his brother. Any mere explaining away of the discrepancy, or endeavour to read one account into the other so as to show that both are right, is beside the mark, for the suggestion that St. Peter was twice called will not commend itself to very many. The fourth Evangelist cancels the Marcan account, and in its place sets what to him was the true story of the incident.

### (c) THE CLEANSING OF THE TEMPLE.

Jn 2<sup>13-17</sup>.

Mk 11<sup>15-18</sup> = (Mt 21<sup>12-17</sup>,  
Lk 19<sup>45-48</sup>).

And the passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. And He found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting : and He made a scourge of cords, and cast all out of the temple, both the sheep and the oxen ; and He poured out the changers' money, and overthrew their tables ; and to them that sold the doves He said, Take these things hence ; make not My Father's house a house of merchandise. His disciples remem-

And they come to Jerusalem : and He entered into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold and them that bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold the doves ; and He would not suffer that any man should carry a vessel through the temple. And He taught, and said unto them, Is it not written, My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations ? but ye have made it a den of robbers. And the

bered that it was written, The zeal of Thine house shall eat me up.

chief priests and the scribes heard it, and sought how they might destroy Him: for they feared Him, for all the multitude was astonished at His teaching.

The discrepancy here is serious. Our author places the cleansing of the temple at the commencement of our Lord's ministry at Jerusalem, the Synoptists tell of it as the crowning point of the triumphal entry. At first sight it appears that the Synoptists certainly put the more likely version before us. That one man should be able to produce so astonishing an effect is wonderful; but the triumphant crowds are following Him with their extraordinary shoutings, and, further still, the fame of the man had preceded Him to the capital. He is widely acknowledged as a prophet. What then more natural than that He should come to the House of Yahweh and protest thus vigorously against its profanation? On the other hand, that an unknown man should be able to produce such an effect, and to carry out His purpose successfully with no apparent opposition on the part of those who were firmly established in their trades, seems most singular.

Nor does the theory, popular in some quarters, that this event was twice enacted, help us very much here. We dismiss the theory at once, for the writer who thus seems to flatly contradict the older authorities would most certainly have made it clear

that he was merely adding a fresh example which had escaped the notice of the other writers. We should have to say that there were two baptisms, two calls of St. Peter, two trials before Pilate, and so on. And yet when we consider all things, the incident is not so out of place at the commencement of the ministry. It would rather be very curious if it occurred only at the close. For the state of affairs extant in the temple courts was not one of sudden growth; the custom of buying and selling there must have obtained for many years, nay, many decades. Nor can we quite understand how it was that Christ, in the Synoptic narratives, should thus pass over the profanation of the temple at His earlier visits to the capital, and only pronounce condemnation when He made His last visit close to the end of His ministry. No. It is most natural that at the first instance, when our Lord first came in contact with this well-established custom, He should immediately carry out the work of purgation. The Fourth Gospel gives the most likely order. Nor is it really so very remarkable as regards the successful result produced when we think of the generally expectant state of the Jewish mind, the effect produced upon it by the appearance of a real prophet after the lapse of centuries (and had not all Jerusalem gone out to John ?), as well as the pronounced assertions which he had made as to the immediate presence of a far greater One. Add to

all this the easily panic-stricken Oriental crowd influenced by the knowledge that the accusation of the Reformer was perfectly true and just, and we have every reason to suppose that the scene took place much as it is here detailed, and at the commencement of the ministry. Again, then, the writer is taking it upon himself to correct his literary forerunners. No other solution is really possible, for the joint statement of the other three is quite plain and straightforward, and there could be no possibility of mistaking any point connected with this event in their narrations. Our author is quite sure that they are wrong,—and they probably were,—and is careful, therefore, to put them right. He must have had good authority, indeed, to enable him to pursue such a course !

(d) AN INTERLUDE.

Jn 6<sup>15</sup>.

Jesus therefore perceiving that they were about to come and take Him by force, to make Him king, withdrew again into the mountain Himself alone.

Mk 6<sup>45, 46</sup>.

And straightway He constrained His disciples to enter into the boat, and to go before Him unto the other side to Bethsaida, while He Himself sendeth the multitude away. And after He had taken leave of them, He departed into the mountain to pray.

I do not see that there is a very great discrepancy here. True, the accounts do not tally in all details ; but they are, as in many other places, mutually interdependent. St. Mark gives the information

that the Lord sent the disciples on while He remains to deal with the multitude. The fourth Evangelist gives as the reason for this, the fact that the people had been worked up into a state of great excitement by the miracle. St. Mark knew only that He had afterwards departed into the mountain, and quite naturally supposes that the reason for this step was one known to have actuated Him upon other occasions ; our author, however, has a fuller knowledge of the facts which necessitated this step, namely, that a section of the crowd was so struck by the miracle that they saw in Him one well fitted for the rôle of a deliverer. I do not mean to contend that the fourth Evangelist is always right as to the actuality of any or all of such details ; he gives his opinion, narrating facts as they struck him at the time. The other writers can only give the opinions of their authorities, any editorial additions which they may have made being also dependent upon something that they had been led to understand. Our writer wishes us to realize that he was present upon these occasions, and that there were certain details which the others have omitted from lack of knowledge, but which he considers essential to a full understanding of the complete scene. Sometimes he is content to make little additions, as here, which may have the apparent force of creating a discrepancy, but which in reality fit into the existing record. But when the need arises he is not afraid

to give a story quite at variance with those already written, for he is aware that his authority is higher than theirs.

(e) THE ANOINTING OF CHRIST.

Jn 12<sup>1-8</sup>, Mk 14<sup>1-9</sup> (=Mt 26<sup>6-13</sup>); cp. also Lk 7<sup>36-50</sup>.

We have here a passage which presents greater confusion than any other when compared with the Synoptic Gospels. St. Matthew is evidently borrowing from St. Mark, and so needs no separate discussion. The Marcan account gives the name of the host as Simon, as does the Lucan; but in the latter case we have Simon the Pharisee, in the former Simon the leper. Again, St. Luke records the event as taking place early in the ministry, calls the woman a notorious sinner, and gives us a parable which our Lord founds upon the incident; St. Mark narrates it as taking place during the Holy Week, speaks merely of "a woman," has no mention of a parable, but records a murmuring of the people against the apparent waste. Clearly these two can hardly be records of one event which has become confused in differing traditions; their whole purpose and setting is completely at variance one with the other. The story given by our author is most in keeping with the Marcan narration. It has nothing whatever in common with the Lucan story, save that the ointment was poured upon the Master's feet (St. Mark has head), a very minor point.

I cannot agree with Dr. Salmon's suggestion (*The Human Element in the Gospels*, p. 484), that "St. John's language conveys the idea that this Evangelist regarded the two women (*i.e.*, in his own account and that of St. Luke) as the same." Rather, I think, the Evangelist leaves out of account the Lucan story as not referring to this incident at all, and having no connection with it. His purpose is to correct details in the Marcan version; thus he points out that the event took place in the home of Martha and Mary at Bethany, and that Judas Iscariot was the one that grumbled. What other purpose could he possibly have than correction in so treating this Marcan incident which he must have had before him? Are we to suppose that he suffered from occasional aberrations of intellect? It is quite impossible to contend that this writer meant to convey the idea that after this scene at Bethany another incident almost identical in character took place in another house in the same village a day or two later, as recorded by St. Mark. It is surely obvious that he is making a deliberate correction.

Further, I think that there is every reason to suppose that he is right in so doing. The Lucan story must either be authentic, presenting another similar incident, or else it must be apocryphal, being a very confused version of the one here under discussion. But this latter suggestion seems hardly

likely when we find that St. Luke's picture has so many details which belong to it alone. The more we think of it, the more we are convinced that it is an authentic account. This being so, it is quite easy to see that St. Mark, having two stories running in his head, has made one of them, taking the locality and the murmuring from the one and the name of the host from the other. Our author sees this and makes matters clear for us.

(f) THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY.

Jn 12<sup>12-14</sup>.

On the morrow a great multitude that had come to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took the branches of the palm trees, and went forth to meet Him, and cried out, Hosanna : Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord, even the King of Israel. And Jesus, having found a young ass, sat thereon, etc.

Mk 11<sup>1-2</sup>.

And when they draw nigh unto Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount of Olives, He sendeth two of His disciples, and saith unto them, Go your way into the village that is over against you : and straightway as ye enter into it, ye shall find a colt tied, whereon no man ever yet sat ; loose him, and bring him, etc.

St. Mark's account here reads as though the triumphal entry into Jerusalem took place upon the same day as our Lord arrived from Jericho. I think that this is so only upon the surface of the narrative. For if it were so it would mean that it was all part of the journey from "the borders of Judaea and beyond Jordan," all of which was accomplished in one day, for there is no mention of a stop. Such a view, I say, would be merely superficial, and, I may

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add, ludicrous. There are evidences of gaps in the narrative: 10<sup>17</sup> "as He was going forth into the way"; v.<sup>32</sup> "and they were in the way going up to Jerusalem"; v.<sup>46</sup> "and they come to Jericho." Each of these implies halts of greater or lesser duration, and there were probably others. So 11<sup>1</sup> "when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany," naturally implies, as do the other places, the possibility of a halt. Our author gives the exact time of the arrival at Bethany, "six days before the Passover" (12<sup>1</sup>), and narrates an event which took place during the evening which our Lord spent there. He does not recount the sending of the disciples for the colt, as it had been already told. The difference between the accounts of the entry are due to a different standpoint being adopted by the fourth Evangelist, as we have already seen.

### (g) THE DATE OF THE LAST SUPPER.

Jn 13<sup>1. 29</sup> etc., Mk 14<sup>12 ff.</sup>, Lk 22<sup>7 ff.</sup>

In spite of all that has been said to the contrary, yet it is abundantly evident that the Fourth Gospel differs from the Synoptists as to the dates of the Last Supper and the Crucifixion. They agree upon the facts that the one took place upon the Thursday and the other upon Friday; but the Synoptists, though there are details which show confusion of mind on the subject, on the main suggest that the Last Supper was identical with the Passover, and that the Crucifixion took place after that feast. The

labours of Mr. Box<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Chwolson<sup>2</sup> serve to show us how easy it was in the face of the many difficulties for a writer of the second generation like St. Mark, and a Gentile like St. Luke, to make mistakes. They cannot, however, do away with the fact that the writers believed that our Lord kept the Passover with His disciples upon the Thursday night. What they do make clear is that the Last Supper was certainly not the Passover, and that the fourth Evangelist is right in this respect, while the Synoptic outline is plainly wrong here in its chronology. Everything is against it. The first day of unleavened bread is clearly intended to indicate the first day after the Passover day, but the authorities are also made to say that the arrest must on no account be made upon the feast day; then there are certain details given of actions which would be impossible upon the day of the feast, namely, the coming of Simon of Cyrene, presumably from his work in the country, the purchasing of a linen cloth and of spices, the carrying of two swords, etc. How the Evangelists came to make the mistakes we have no means of telling, but St. John's Gospel has right on its side in correcting them and in making it quite clear that these events must have taken place before the feast. Our author only speaks of "supper," and does not mention either Passover or Eucharist in

<sup>1</sup> See *The Journal of Theological Studies*, April 1902.

<sup>2</sup> *Das letzte Passemahl Christi.*

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immediate connection with it. For the latter he certainly refers to the Synoptists, yet as certainly St. Luke says "they made ready the Passover" (22<sup>13</sup>), and again, "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer" (v.<sup>15</sup>). There is, on the other hand, no confusion in the account of the fourth Evangelist. In the reference in 13<sup>1</sup> to the Supper it is expressly shown that this was "before the feast of the Passover" (*πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα*). After supper, Judas is dismissed, and the words of dismissal are wrongly interpreted by the assembled band; they suppose our Lord to say, "Buy what things we have need of for the feast" (*εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν*, 13<sup>29</sup>). It was still something to come, this feast. Again in the early hours of the Friday the people "entered not into the Praetorium that they might not be defiled, but might eat the Passover" (*ἴνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα*, 18<sup>28</sup>). Then at the Crucifixion itself our author states, "Now it was the preparation of the Passover" (*παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα*, 19<sup>14</sup>). All these statements are consistent and clear. Christ was crucified upon the preparation day, in the afternoon of which the Paschal Lamb was to be slain. Whether he has deliberately arranged this in order to propound the conception of "Christ our Passover" or not, does not affect the present point. It is not easy to determine whether the Synoptists owe their confusion to the fact that in later times the Eucharist was connected

with the thought of the Passover, or whether they supposed that our Lord antedated the Passover itself for Himself and the disciples by one day. It would seem most natural to suppose the latter, save for the fact that there is no surprise whatever expressed at such a curious procedure by any of them, whereas they realized nothing of the coming event which was to make it impossible for the feast to be kept at the right time. One has therefore to fall back upon the supposition of a later confusion of ideas.

At all events the fourth Evangelist is making a correction in the chronology of the Synoptists, and is perfectly justified under the circumstances in doing so. The Synoptic account is vague and unsatisfactory, the Johannine clear and definite; even if it were possible to explain away the contradictions of the former, still the latter stands out as giving, in place of confused and confusing statements, the true and clear facts of the case. In all this, I say, he was perfectly justified. May it not be, therefore, supposed that he was as much justified in making the other corrections which we have noticed?

(h) THE TRIAL BEFORE PILATE.

Jn 18<sup>28-40</sup>, Mk 15<sup>2-5</sup> = (Mt 27<sup>11-14</sup>, Lk 23<sup>2-5</sup>).

It is noteworthy that the Synoptists, following St. Mark, make Christ quite silent before Pilate. The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, gives a

detailed account of the conversations which took place between our Lord and His earthly judge. Further, what little Pilate is recorded by St. Mark to have said is set forth as being *coram populo*; in the Fourth Gospel the colloquies take place apart, and the exact reason for this is given, "they themselves entered not into the Praetorium, that they might not be defiled, but might eat the Passover" (18<sup>28</sup>). This is all of a piece with the rest of the narrative, and preserves the true chronology and the historic sense throughout. The Synoptic account is bald and unconvincing, as well as somewhat confused. Our author's story depends in no way upon the Synoptic relation, and is indeed a contradiction of it. We cannot but feel, however, as we read, that this is the truer account of what really happened. This is, of course, an open question, and does affect the chief point of this part of the argument, which is that the fourth Evangelist cancels the existing record and in its place substitutes what he believes to be the true version.

There is no disguising the fact, then, that several discrepancies are to be found between the Fourth Gospel on the one hand, and the Synoptists on the other. Nor is it easy to in any way reconcile the two sets of accounts without straining the language in a manner that it will not bear, save by advancing hypotheses to the effect that the accounts refer to separate incidents. If we do this, we find that many

events are repeated under other circumstances which bear a remarkably close resemblance to one another in small details. But we also have the greatest possible difficulty in fitting them all into an outline of the Christ-life which is at all satisfactory. Moreover, the said details make it to all intents and purposes certain that the several raconteurs are referring to the same incidents. We are compelled, therefore, to fall back upon the somewhat patent fact that the fourth Evangelist is setting forth an absolutely different version of these incidents from that found in the Synoptists. He must have done so with his eyes open to the consequences, possible and probable; he must also have known the fact that for most Christians the second Gospel was accepted on the authority of St. Peter. One only possible purpose could he have had, which was to show that the Evangelists who wrote of matters which they had not seen, and of discourses which they had not themselves heard delivered, had confused certain things in their minds, and in consequence had given a wrong version of them. The wonder is, not that they made so many mistakes, but that they made so few. He felt it his duty to give what he considered to be the correct version, and he is ready to abide by the results.

To a certain section of Christians this is far from being an acceptable theory. They have been accustomed to believe in the infallibility of the

Bible. The notion of verbal inspiration, though it dies hard, has almost passed away now that textual criticism has so plainly demonstrated its impossibility; but the impression remains that such a theory as the above is subversive of belief in the Holy Scriptures, and leads in the end to a final rejection of the claim to any authority for them. But even if we take the literal meaning of the Scriptures, we shall find that any such idea is in reality baseless, even from that point of view. It is the fourth Evangelist himself who records for us the promise of Christ, "Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth" (16<sup>13</sup>); and again, "But the Paraclete, even the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in My name, He shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you" (14<sup>26</sup>). Now the first Gospel was certainly not written by St. Matthew though founded upon a certain Matthæan substratum; neither the editor of this Gospel, then, nor St. Mark nor St. Luke, were among those to whom the promise was made. On the other hand, the fourth Evangelist claims to have heard these things, and was therefore, whether he was the Apostle St. John or not, a recipient of the promise. If, then, his recollection of these events differed totally from the record of them in the Synoptic narratives, the very least that he could do was to put them right.

Let us not, however, be too hide-bound by traditional views as to inspiration. The absolute verbal accuracy of the Bible would be a stupendous miracle, and, moreover, one out of keeping with the recognized methods by means of which God deals with humanity. He is content to use human means, and human means are obviously and confessedly fallible. We need to render heartfelt thanks to Him for the already marvellous preservation of the sacred records through those early years' hatred, oppression, and persecution. That the Bible is inspired we need not doubt; and yet the fact that the writers have occasionally fallen victims to an universal human liability to error does not detract from the inspiration, it rather serves to strengthen the belief of those who have any faith worthy of the name.

## CHAPTER V

### CHRISTOLOGY

WE come now to review the vexed question as to the precise position occupied by the author of the Fourth Gospel in the history of the systematization of Christian doctrine in the matter of the person and work and office of Christ. If we are to believe all that modern German criticism tells us, the Fourth Gospel adds nothing to our knowledge of the historic Christ; indeed it does much to obscure Him, in so much as it simply gives us a picture of the exact extent to which the growth of myths had proceeded by 120, and shows us the lines along which the development of "Catholicism" proceeded, primitive Christianity having been by this time wholly lost sight of. We are compelled to ask, where shall we find the picture of the historic Christ? The Synoptists give us the picture of a miracle worker, even to the extent of raising the dead. True, this is explicable. Did not the Lord Himself protest against this last wonder being attributed to Him? When the friends and relatives of the apparently deceased daughter of Jairus brought

Him to the room where the body lay, did He not say that she did but sleep, in a swoon, in a trance. Yet despite His protests, His disciples would not be convinced. They had determined in their minds that a miracle had been performed, and so from the very commencement a fraud was perpetrated. Such is the argument of people like Professor Schmidt;<sup>1</sup> but it is too clever, too ingenious. Had there been no enemies to attack, no critics to pick holes, no haters to find frauds and deceits, had all the inhabitants of the entire country been disciples, the argument might have had some weight. But when we remember that there were the great traps being laid by the emissaries of the ecclesiastical authorities, that spies from the same quarter were always lying in wait, that when He came up for trial it was with difficulty that they could produce evidence against Him of any kind or sort, we begin to feel that our friends have not been very happy in their "explanation." Even these wary and watchful foes must have been the victims of a like hallucination. However, we find ample condemnation of the theory in the teaching of Christ as regards the departed, cp. Mk 12<sup>26</sup>.

The question of the miraculous will never be settled in a manner satisfactory to all schools of thought; but to commence the study of the life of Christ by announcing that miracles are impossible,

<sup>1</sup> *The Prophet of Nazareth.*

is to vitiate the entire study. The telegraph and the telephone would appear miraculous to one of our forebears of two centuries ago if they could suddenly be set in the midst of modern life. The explanation of the phenomena would be, however, that they saw the working of a natural law of which they had absolutely no knowledge. No one will deny that there are probably many laws of nature in operation of which we have as yet no cognisance. We shall most of us agree that there is a higher cycle of law, call it spiritual or what you will, of which we are in total ignorance. That this should intervene at times and produce results which are contrary to our everyday experience, is not a matter of great difficulty to the thoughtful student of the riddle of the universe. And that God should choose that this set of laws should be capable of being called into operation in response to the assimilative effort of faith, does not seem a very great stumbling-block. Sweep away God and the spirit world, and miracles become not merely impossible, but ridiculous. But can we sweep these things away so easily? It is surely a process of self-annihilation. "I have no satisfactory proof of the occurrence of a single miracle, therefore I do not believe in them," sounds an imposing argument. One is inclined to reply, "I have no satisfactory proof of the sanity of such criticism, therefore," as before. The crowning miracle was the Resurrec-

tion, as it is the crowning point of Christianity. St. Paul writing to the Corinthian Church challenges the world on this point. He appeals to 500 witnesses, the greater part of whom are alive at the time of writing. Are we to suppose that this considerable body of persons was entirely composed of deluded fanatics? We might allow it of 490 or even 495; but were there not one or two of the number sufficiently level-headed to see that there was something wrong, and sufficiently honest in the cause of truth to protest when the doctrine of the Resurrection was promulgated, and to take some definite steps to prevent the perpetration of a ghastly mistake, not to say fraud? Perhaps it will be suggested that any such were among those who had "fallen asleep"; or even that they had been put out of the way! Nor can it be contended that the circle to whom St. Paul's letters were directed was restricted to those anxious to believe in Christ and the Resurrection. The Jewish Synagogue was always the first objective of the Apostle, and from the first the Jews were opposed to Christianity, and were the leaders of the opposition in city after city, while the Sadducean representatives would always be up in arms against a Resurrection theory. The same facts would dispose of the suggestion that interest in the question was not sufficient to arouse any active opposition, and there may be added to the above facts that St. Paul directly states that

some among his hearers said that there was no Resurrection.

But the Fourth Gospel adds nothing to the mystery, nor the wonder, nor the miraculous nature of the Resurrection. That one who had been killed should have the power to raise Himself from the dead was an entirely fresh conception. A miracle of raising performed by a prophet upon one departed was no new idea to the Jew, with the stories of Elijah and Elisha before him. Here was something quite unique; but we do not owe it in any sense or degree to the Fourth Gospel; the author merely records additional appearances. Had his purpose been in any sense to intensify the miraculous, it could very easily have been done. The most remarkable thing in the whole story of the Resurrection is the different relationship existing between the Risen Lord and His disciples. The Master draws attention to His Flesh and Bones; He is no mere Spirit, but a risen Body. What would have been more rational for the deluded romance-writer than that he should pile up a record of post-Resurrection miracles. But the subtle change of relationship as shown in smallest details could only have been recorded by those who underwent the experience; it is beyond all possibilities of fiction.

There are certain terms used by the New Testament writers to denote the central Figure of their narra-

tions. It is not infrequently contended that we find so great a change in the evident meaning of these titles as used by the fourth Evangelist from that of the Synoptic use, as to compel us to suppose that the writer was one whose whole spiritual Christian career had been under the influence of an advanced Christology, such as would be generally accepted at the close of the first century or the opening of the second. In short, such use of the terms would be practically impossible in a primitive disciple. These titles are "Son of Man," "Son of God," and "Christ." We set aside the extreme view of Professor Schmidt and his school, who maintain that as far as the first of these titles is concerned the Lord was, according to the usage of the words, proclaiming Himself to be a mere man, while the second was merely used in the sense in which every Jew could and did make the claim, that He belonged to the divine family.

We find the title "Son of Man" used by St. Matthew thirty times, by St. Mark fourteen, and by St. Luke twenty-five. There can be no possible doubt as to the meaning which the term conveyed to those who heard it used. Whatever may have been the Old Testament sense of the word, or whatever it may or may not have meant in Dn 7<sup>14</sup>, apocalyptic tradition had definitely connected the phrase with the thought of the Messiah.

I am quite satisfied that it was, therefore, in a

limited sense, a current Messianic term; but it must be remembered that it was no part of the Jewish hope to conceive of the Messiah as more than a deliverer. A divine Incarnation was never for one moment dreamed of. Further, it is possible to lay too great stress on the Aramaic *Bar enosh*.<sup>1</sup> St. Mark's Gospel is in no sense a translation from Aramaic. Had the author wished to convey the sense "man," he must surely have chosen a less formal, a less titular, and a less definite phrase than this.

It is used in the Synoptists in what may almost be called two senses—(a) of Christ in His human capacity, (b) of Christ glorified. In the latter sense it belongs to those apocalyptic passages which some would have us believe are not intrinsic portions of the Gospel narratives, but which have been bodily taken from some apocalyptic work; and since they

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Allen's excellent note (*St. Matthew*, p. lxxi ff.), also Dr. Driver's art. in Hastings' *DB*. iv. p. 579 ff. Dalman (*Words of Jesus*) points out that בֶּן אָנָשׁ was used to express in Aramaic the idea of "man," while the term בֶּן אֲנָשָׂה was used rather for the man, בֶּן אָנָשׁ, and that it was this latter that was the original of ὁ γιὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. In Jn 9<sup>35</sup> the MSS. are divided between "Son of man" and "Son of God." The Syriac Vss. support the majority of MSS. in reading בְּנֵי אָנָשׁ (בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים) = εἱλετοὶ γενῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, though the combination נ B D in favour of τὸν γενὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is very strong. This does not necessarily imply that the phrases were interchangeable, but it does suggest that they were both similarly regarded as titles of the Messiah. Wellhausen, Schmidt, and others are strongly in favour of the simple meaning "man" for the original Aramaic phrase, which they consider to have been translated by a misleading Greek expression.

are said to positively show that these Gospels were written after the fall of Jerusalem, it is evident that we are to suppose that they are not true utterances of Christ. As there is not an atom of proof in support of these contentions beyond the fact that the prophecies were ultimately verified, we may with Blass<sup>1</sup> recall the prophecy of Savonarola anent the fall of Rome, and pass on.

Now it is noticeable that the fourth Evangelist records the use of the phrase by Christ only in connection with His glorification. These are the passages, "Ye shall see the heaven opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man" (1<sup>51</sup>); "And no man hath ascended into heaven, but He that descended out of heaven, even the Son of man, which is in heaven" (3<sup>13</sup>); "What then if ye should behold the Son of man ascending where He was before?" (6<sup>62</sup>); "The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified" (12<sup>23</sup>); "When, therefore, he was gone out, Jesus saith, Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in Him: and God shall glorify Him in Himself, and straightway shall He glorify Him" (13<sup>31f.</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> *Expository Times*, June 1907, p. 400. "With regard to prophecies in general, I drew attention ten years ago to the fact that Hieronymus Savonarola in Florence, in A.D. 1496, foretold with great exactitude the capture and plundering of Rome, which happened in 1527; and this can be verified from his sermons printed in 1497, even with particulars like this, that the churches should be used as stables for horses."

(a) The Synoptic use of the term gives considerable difficulty to critics. They find it occurring often before the confession of St. Peter, and thus they are obliged to suppose that the chronology is at fault. It may well be. But there are one or two passages which cannot be so disposed of; cp. Mk 2<sup>10</sup> (=Mt 9<sup>6</sup> =Lk 5<sup>24</sup>). Dr. Driver (Hastings' *DB.* iv. 586) is driven to the conclusion that the term was used by Christ to veil rather than reveal His Messiahship. I cannot accept this theory. Take the passage above mentioned. What effort at veiling is to be found in the establishing of the claim to forgive sins by a following miracle, when such a power was universally considered among the Jews to be a Divine prerogative? The importance of the incident lies surely in the fact of the claim to forgive sins on earth, not in whether Christ made the claim for Himself as "man" or as Messiah. It was not merely the Messiahship which Christ claimed, but Divinity; and it was this *Divine Nature* of His Messianic office which in the Synoptic accounts is shown to be gradually revealed to the world rather than the Messiahship itself. The writer of the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, is determined in his own mind that from the first Jesus used the phrase of Himself, not only with a Messianic meaning, but with the direct intention of conveying the notion of the Divine Nature of that Messiah. But the whole point in the contrast between the use of

the phrase by the Synoptists on the one hand and the author of the Fourth Gospel on the other is this, that *in every instance* in which the term is employed in the Fourth Gospel it is addressed only to the disciples and not to the people in general, Nathanael, Nicodemus, the disciples who were offended at His teaching, Philip and Andrew, the apostolic band. This surely alters the entire aspect of the Johannine use of the phrase. It is not that this writer has read a new meaning into the phrase, a meaning which has developed by the time he writes, it is rather that he instances the self-manifestation of Christ as the Divine Son of man as being from the first made clear to His chosen circle, even though some of them, as St. Peter, did not at once grasp the whole meaning of the Master, cp. 14<sup>22</sup> "Judas (not Iscariot) saith unto Him, What is come to pass that Thou wilt manifest Thyself unto us, and not unto the world ?" There are several instances of the Synoptic use of the phrase which is exactly parallel to that of the Fourth Gospel. The writer of that has added nothing to it.

(b) The author of the Fourth Gospel does not mean any more by the expression "Son of God" than he meant by "Son of man"; it is merely a different aspect of the Christ. By one phrase he designates the Divine Lord in a way which will emphasize His Human Nature, by the other in a mode which will set the Godhead first. One thing is plain and

important, the phases are not of his creation. Further, he does not invest them with any new meaning. What is fresh in the Gospel is the use of the term by our Lord of Himself. Here are the instances of His use of the term :

“The hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live” (5<sup>25</sup>). “Dost thou believe on the Son of God?” (§ B D and some versions read “Son of man,” 9<sup>35</sup>). “Because I said, I am the Son of God” (10<sup>36</sup>). “This sickness is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God may be glorified thereby” (11<sup>4</sup>). “The only-begotten Son of God” (3<sup>18</sup>). There is nothing very definite in these passages, save the last; but the full meaning of them is brought out by the passages where “the Son” is used by itself. In certain passages we have “only-begotten” as an attribute to the Son, as in 3<sup>18</sup> above, (1<sup>1</sup>. 4. 18 3<sup>16</sup>. 18). In 1<sup>18</sup> § B C L read “One who is God, only-begotten,” which is to be preferred. The chief teaching concerning the Son is found in His identification with the Logos. He is eternal, pre-existent God (1<sup>1</sup>), an agent in creation (1<sup>2-14</sup>), Incarnate (1<sup>15-18</sup>). There is nothing in all this prologue which goes beyond the words of the prologue to the Epistle to the Hebrews: “God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son, whom He appointed heir of all

things, through whom also He made the world ; who being the effulgence of His glory, and the very image of His substance, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had made purification of sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high " (1<sup>1-3</sup>). We go to St. Paul and we find the same thought uttered. There is no need to adduce proof for St. Paul's belief in Christ as the Son of God in the Johannine sense. It is true that St. Paul does not make a great point of the pre-existence of Christ, but all the way through his writings we feel that the Apostle takes this for granted ; it is a truth known to and accepted by all those to whom he is writing ; but we find the thought echoed in such passages as these : " To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto Him ; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through Him " (1 Cor 8<sup>6</sup>). " The Son of His love ; in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of our sins : who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation ; for in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers ; all things have been created through Him, and unto Him ; and He is before all things, and in Him all things consist " (*hold together*, marg.) (Col 1<sup>14-17</sup>). We are informed in certain quarters that all this was the direct creation of the Apostle's own

brain, so that Christianity ought rather to be dubbed Paulinism ; and thus the conceptions of Christ which appear in the Fourth Gospel are the general beliefs of a Pauline Church. Let us then see the relation of the Johannine conception to that of the Synoptists concerning the Sonship of Christ.

The phrase “Son of God” is not common in the Synoptic Gospels, and at times there is no little doubt as to the text. For instance, St. Mark opens with the significant sentence, “The Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God,” but the margin of the R.V. has the note, “Some ancient authorities omit ‘the Son of God.’” As a matter of fact, the great majority of MSS. contains the words; the omission is upheld by 8 alone of uncials, 28 and 255 alone of minuscules, and one Syriac (the Palestinian); Irenæus, Origen, Basil, and Jerome are also quoted to support the amended reading. These authorities can only be said to be sufficiently weighty to admit of some doubt on the subject. Personally, I feel that their testimony is completely overcome by the vast majority which is in favour of the words.

We next note one or two passages where the expression is evidently genuine. St. Mark (3<sup>11</sup> 5<sup>7</sup>) gives two accounts of our Lord dealing with demoniacs, and in both cases the demoniacs cry out that they believe Him to be the “Son of God” (“the most High God”). It may be contended that in these instances the immediate thought of the speakers,

as translated with the help of popular contemporary thought, was to the effect that they believed Him to be a superhuman Messiah, but not necessarily Divine. This must be somewhat an open question. It will suffice for our purpose to note that the expression would convey far more than that to the Evangelist and his readers. The Johannine conception of the phrase adds nothing to the Marcan. This is equally true of the question of Caiaphas, which is found in John 11<sup>49-52</sup>.

The passages concerning the confession of St. Peter (Mk 8<sup>27-30</sup>, Mt 16<sup>13-20</sup>, Lk 9<sup>18-21</sup>) present a curious phenomenon. In the second and third Gospels we have in each case a simpler phrase than that which appears in the first. St. Mark gives, "Thou art the Christ," St. Luke, "the Christ of God," whereas St. Matthew has a much further confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." What is more natural than that it should be shown to us that St. Mark gives the original statement of belief in the Messiah, that St. Luke should embellish this somewhat by the addition of the word meaning "of God," and that a later editor writing under the influence of a developed Christology should blossom out into his elaborate statement as to the current appreciation of our Lord's Divinity? On the other hand, it is plain that Mr. Allen's suggestion (*St. Matthew*, p. 175), that the additional words are an editorial explanation, has little enough proof to

support it, indeed, none at all. Mr. Allen labels the passage with an M, signifying that it was taken by the editor from the second Gospel. I am strongly of opinion that it should have been labelled L, and that the editor found this fuller phrase in his copy of the Logia. Both Dr. Sanday (*Hastings' DB.* iv. 572) and Dr. Salmon (*Human Element in the Gospels*, p. 351) are of opinion that it is so in keeping with the whole narrative and also with Jewish thought, that it should be regarded as a genuine tradition. If, as I suggest, it was in the Logia, it would have more weight than the second-hand testimony of St. Mark. Mr. Allen gives the four following verses, which comprise our Lord's answer to St. Peter and which are wanting in the second Gospel, to the Logia. Surely the confession which called for these remarks appeared there also.

By far the most important incident in this respect is the Transfiguration. The very incident itself which is recounted by the three Synoptists is sufficient to give all the proof we need for the fact that the Divinity of Christ was as real to the Synoptists as to St. John. The story is told by all these; and yet while St. Matthew borrows it from St. Mark, St. Luke has evidently had access to another source. During this event comes a voice from heaven proclaiming the Sonship of Christ. There can be no mistaking the meaning of this for both writers and readers of the

Gospel; it was the proclamation of a Divine Sonship.

All this is intensified when we review the passages in which utterances of Christ are recorded concerning His Father. Again they are not numerous, but they are all important. In St. Mark we have these: "For whosoever shall be ashamed of My words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man shall also be ashamed of him, when He cometh in the glory of His Father with the holy angels" (Mk 8<sup>38</sup>; cp. Mt 10<sup>33</sup>); "But of that day or that hour knoweth no man, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" (13<sup>32</sup>); "And He said, "Abba, Father, all things are possible unto Thee" (14<sup>36</sup>). It is, of course, not possible to dogmatize on the subject of the exact meaning of the thoughts of Christ, but it is perfectly evident that He manifests a relationship between Himself and God that can only be called filial, and which is far removed from the other filial conception which He suggests for His followers in the pattern prayer beginning "Our Father." The first of the above passages is exactly parallel to the Johannine picture of Christ's self-revelation of the Son, and the Fourth Gospel adds absolutely nothing to the conception as here given by St. Mark of the glorified Son. And yet there is something fresh in the Johannine narrative, and it is that from the very beginning of the Gospel this conception of the Divinity of Christ

is to the fore. If the writer of the Gospel belonged to a generation out of personal touch with any of the primitive Apostles, this phenomenon is difficult to explain. Such a person had authentic records of the life of Christ upon which to work ; he ignores them. He had models in these records of the traditions concerning the method of Christ's self-manifestation to the world ; he refuses to be guided by them. He deliberately goes out of his way to create a self-manifestation from the commencement, of which there is little trace in the Synoptists. At once, then, his work assumes so fictional an element that it would have been impossible that the author's own age would accept it as in any way of value as an authoritative record. Was the Gospel so treated in the second century ? If, on the other hand, the writer looks back upon a personal experience, either his own, or that of one with whom he has been in close touch, things assume a very different aspect. If the author depends upon what he has heard from an eye-witness, it is evident that he has become so impregnated with the notion of the Divinity of our Lord that he gives it the first place throughout the whole narrative, and quite naturally so. One more hypothesis remains, and to me it seems the only possible explanation. If the author had been himself an eye-witness of the events he describes, and if he had been, as he claims, in closest touch with the central Personality of the whole book, then he

might well remember that to the disciples themselves the Master spoke in a manner and with a purpose very different from those which He adopted towards the Jewish world: and he might also recall, or even think that he recalled, the fact that from the outset this had been made clear, however little the recipients of the revelation entered into it at the commencement. Such a writer alone could be justified in treating the Synoptic narrative as our author has done; he alone could have gained the place and authority for his work which were accorded to the Fourth Gospel from the earliest days of external evidence.

There are some writers who insist that the Synoptic picture of our Lord's consciousness as to His own nature is totally different from that of St. John. Here we have a very delicate question to deal with. I am inclined to think that any attempt to analyse minutely the inner consciousness of Christ, is to incur the risk of being, to say the least, presumptuous. But in face of the fact that many dictate to us upon the subject, we are compelled to pay some attention to it. Mr. E. F. Scott (*The Fourth Gospel*, p. 189), dealing with the passages Mt 11<sup>27</sup>, Lk 13<sup>22</sup>, writes, "Jesus, in a moment of exaltation, has realized with peculiar vividness that the Lord of Heaven and Earth is also His Father." We protest most emphatically against such statements. At one moment these critics inform us

that the Synoptic Gospels do not give us a picture of the historic Christ because of the supernatural and miraculous, at another they twist the meaning of the Gospels at various points in such a way as to convey the picture of a Christ of their own conceiving and in keeping with their own petty predilections. On p. 190, Mr. Scott adds, "In the Fourth Gospel the centre of gravity is shifted from the Fatherhood of God to the Sonship of Christ. Jesus is conscious from the beginning of His Divine Nature, and in virtue of this consciousness He reaches out to God and claims affinity with Him." It is, of course, impossible to review the Synoptic picture of the consciousness of Christ as to His nature. Nor is it in any sense needful for our purpose. We maintain that the fourth Evangelist is writing in the main of the self-revelation of Christ, not, as in the Synoptic account, to the world, but to the disciples. We have seen that His assumption of the title "Son of God" was in every single case in the Fourth Gospel before some of the disciples alone. It was never a public declaration. It seems ridiculous to say that the Synoptic Christ was not conscious of His Sonship from the commencement of His ministry, when the twelve-year-old child shows that consciousness in a well-developed state; though naturally it is then but the Messianic conception. The Divine Sonship is no

creation of the Johannine writer's brain, for St. Paul held the same belief as strongly; he speaks of Christ as being "in the form of God" (Phil. 2<sup>6</sup>), "God's own Son" (Ro 8<sup>32</sup>). It was not the creation of St. Paul's brain, for we have in St. Mark the passages above quoted and in St. Luke and St. Matthew such as these, "No one knoweth who the Son is, save the Father: and who the Father is, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him" (Lk 10<sup>22</sup>, Mt 11<sup>27</sup>). "I appoint unto you a kingdom, even as My Father appointed unto Me" (Lk 22<sup>20</sup>). "Art Thou then the Son of God? And He said unto them, Ye say that I am" (Lk 22<sup>70</sup>; cp. Mk 14<sup>62</sup>). Any doubt as to what the teaching of Christ as to His nature conveyed to the people is set at rest by the taunts directed at Him as He hung on the cross: "He trusted in God; let Him deliver Him now, if He desires Him: for He said, I am the Son of God" (Mt 27<sup>43</sup>, cp. v.<sup>40</sup>). It is obvious to the meanest intellect that the thought is everywhere conspicuous in the Fourth Gospel, and is drawn out more fully; but I maintain that there is nothing added in degree to the conception of the Divine Sonship present in the Synoptic account, and that the fourth Evangelist produces these many instances of our Lord's self-revelation by way of directly supplementing the existing accounts. He could

not have *dared* to do so unless he had the highest possible authority for his statements. To do so would have been to court general disbelief. Such an unofficial "Gospel" might have enjoyed the currency and popularity of the "Apocalypse of Peter" and other similar works, but it never could have attained or maintained its high place and authority.

## CHAPTER VI

### CHRIST AND THE PEOPLE IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL

#### I

IT has already been stated with some emphasis that the Fourth Gospel presents in the main the picture of Christ's self-revelation to the disciples; and it has been further contended that this accounts for the fact which is so frequently harped upon, *i.e.*, that the Divinity of Christ is to the fore from the very first words of the Gospel onwards. This will be brought out a great deal more strongly when we consider the self-manifestation of Christ to the world as shown in this Gospel.

It must be distinctly recognized that this is no part of the author's central purpose; nor indeed can it be said to be an offshoot from it. The manifestation of the Son only concerns him so far as it is directly to the disciples. Certain public acts and words of Christ contribute to this, and need to be told, since they are not noted by the Synoptists. Thus the record of these public utter-

ances is quite unbiassed by predilections in favour of the Divinity of Christ.

We are at once immensely struck by the fact that our Lord's public words and actions find absolute parallels in the Synoptic accounts. The Fourth Gospel does not go beyond the Synoptists in any degree in the matter of the Divinity of Christ either as set forth by the Master Himself or as understood by the hearers in general. It need hardly be said that this is an all-important point.

(a) The first public appearance of Christ after the Baptism, as recorded by the fourth Evangelist, is the marriage-feast in Cana of Galilee (ch. 2). I am bound to confess that if a second-century writer were setting himself the task of showing that Christ from the first insisted publicly on His Divinity, in the sense in which the phrase "Son of God" is understood and employed to-day, he failed lamentably. Here is as quiet and homely a scene as one could wish for, no flourish of trumpets, no claims, no general wonder and astonishment as the result of the popular gaze being concentrated upon the central Personality, but rather a quiet unostentatious act portrayed in a very human setting. Whatever explanations may be forthcoming, and they are many, the fact remains that we have the story of an incident told in such a way as to compel our interest and ultimately our credence. We are

sure that this in its main outline is an historic fact recounted by one who was himself present. He represents it as a miracle. That is a stumbling-block to many; but turn to the first public appearance in St. Mark (1<sup>21-28</sup>). It is the synagogue at Capharnaum, a very public place; His teaching at once arrests attention, and produces what in these days the journals would call "a sensation"; "they were astonished at His teaching: for He taught them as having authority, and not as the scribes" (v.<sup>22</sup>). Surely a very remarkable effect to produce. Then, too, a miracle immediately follows, in the same place, just as publicly, and with an increase of "sensation." An unclean spirit is cast out from a man, and from the spirit comes the confession, "I know Thee who Thou art, the Holy One of God." Surely there must be a mistake. It is our second-century friend who in his narrative is thus striking the keynote at the very commencement. No! here it is in St. Mark, the *Grundschrift* of the Synoptic accounts, the "reminiscences of the Petrine circle."<sup>1</sup> What a contrast is afforded by the Johannine story, with its limited circle of those upon whom an effect is produced, "and His disciples believed on Him" (2<sup>11</sup>), whereas in St. Mark we find, "And they were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among themselves, saying, What is this? A new

<sup>1</sup> Jülicher.

teaching! With authority He commandeth even the unclean spirits, and they obey Him. And the report of Him went out straightway everywhere into all the region of Galilee round about" (1<sup>27.</sup> 28).

There is no need to lay any special stress on the phrase "the Holy One of God," it is quite emphatic enough in itself at this point.

(b) The above incident would be very striking if it stood alone, but as a matter of fact it is but one link in a chain. The next public appearance in the Fourth Gospel is the cleansing of the temple at Jerusalem. The reason for placing this event here has been already given. The account is strictly parallel with the Synoptic narrative; there is no addition which would make the event a manifestation of Divine power, another great opportunity lost by the second-century author. If the writer had any other intention than to correct the Synoptic chronology, it is not evident in the narrative before us. It may perhaps be noted that the Synoptists regard this as the culminating act of the entry into Jerusalem, and also they seem to point to it as the one thing which induced the final, concerted, hostile action of the ecclesiastical authorities.

Our author does not see it in that light at all, though he is far from supposing that it produced no effect on the popular mind; but the effect does not in any sense suggest that the action of Christ is

supposed by the Evangelist to be a showing forth of Divinity. "What sign showed Thou unto us, seeing that Thou dost these things?" (2<sup>18</sup>), was the comment of the populace. They regarded His action as being a claim to a high prophetic office; and the same demand for a sign is to be found in the Synoptic story. A little later (v.<sup>23</sup>) we are told that "many believed on His name"; but in St. Mark (1<sup>27. 38</sup>) we have the same thing implied in the fact of His spreading renown in the one case, and in the other the assertion of His disciples, "All are seeking Thee."

(c) The next manifestation is in Samaria. The supplemental character of this episode is obvious, and would not be attempted by any other than an eye-witness. It is out of all keeping with the known relationship between the Jews and Samaritans, so that a second-century writer would be running the risk of being charged with an ignorance of the historical conditions of the time. Indeed it is about the last sort of incident that such a writer would wish to invent. The crowning point of the narrative is reached in 4<sup>25. 26</sup> "The woman saith unto Him, I know that Messiah cometh, which is called Christ: when He is come, He will declare unto us all things. Jesus saith unto her, I that speak unto thee am He." There is no insistence upon any Divine claim; the woman would only understand the title in the commonly accepted meaning of the term; and there

is nothing whatever in our Lord's words throughout the discourse which intimates that He intended to convey any idea for which the Jewish and Samaritan world was not yet ready. Still less is there the slightest ground for suggesting that second-century conceptions of the Christ are hinted at by the Evangelist. Again we turn to St. Mark. We find in 5<sup>7</sup> an incident no later in our Lord's life than that which we are considering, the healing of the demoniac in the tombs. This person at the coming of Christ cries out, "What have I to do with Thee, Jesus, Thou Son of the Most High God?" If we had found the position reversed, so that this man termed our Lord Messiah, while Christ proclaimed Himself Son of the Most High God to the woman of Samaria, great would have been the capital made out of this Johannine incident by the Negative Critics. As it is, we do not need to draw any special meaning from the title given by the demoniac. It is convincingly striking as it stands, and obviously assigns a high and mysterious dignity to the Messianic office of the Deliverer. In the Fourth Gospel account which we have before us there is no such assumption of Divine relationship on the part of Christ; and even in the comment of the Samaritans who were called up by the woman, "We know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world" (4<sup>42</sup>), we see only such a conception of the Messianic office as was prevalent

in certain quarters even before the birth of Christ.

(d) In chs. 4 and 5 we have the record of some miracles which can be shown to have their counterpart in the Synoptic Gospels: they are, it is true, peculiar to this Gospel, but they have no importance in the direction of emphasizing the Divine power of the worker; indeed the remarks of the people as given in some of the Synoptic miracle-stories seem to show that a greater effect was produced upon the beholders than is evidenced here. The fourth Evangelist has his purpose. Upon one occasion it is that the disciples were connected with regard to the current supposition that every cripple bore the evidence of either his own or his parents' sin; at another he is anxious to bring out the fact that the claims of Christ are now beginning to be put forward. But the claim is quite indefinite, "My Father worketh even until now, and I work" (5<sup>17</sup>). Nor is the degree of the claim understood by the people; it seemed to them in some vague way that He made "Himself equal with God" (v.<sup>18</sup>). The subsequent discourse has a revelation of the relation of the Speaker with the Father, but in St. Luke 10<sup>21</sup> we have as plain an evidence of the fact that our Lord was wont to give such indications of His relationship with God. They are not dwelt upon by the Synoptists, but we can plainly see that they were forthcoming; it remains for the eye-

witness to produce them at greater length. It would be remarkable if he failed to do so. St. Luke records the following utterance. "In that same hour He rejoiced in the Holy Spirit, and said, I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that Thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes: yea, Father; for so it was well-pleasing in Thy sight. All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father, and no one knoweth who the Son is, save the Father, and who the Father is, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him." It is not possible to make any mistake as to the evident claim set forth by the Master here. It is, if anything, more direct and more definite than anything in the public utterances of Christ as recorded in these early chapters of the Fourth Gospel.

(e) In the sixth chapter of the Fourth Gospel we come to the discourse in the synagogue at Capharnaum. It carries on the conceptions embodied in the discourse of the fifth chapter, but the claim now becomes even more direct: "I am come down from heaven not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me" (v.<sup>35</sup>); "For this is the will of My Father, that every one that beholdeth the Son, and believeth on Him, should have eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day" (v.<sup>40</sup>); "I am the living Bread which came down out of heaven;

if any man eat of this Bread he shall live for ever” (v.<sup>51</sup>). And yet we find startling words in the Synoptic Gospels, which convey the same idea of Sonship in an even more forcible way: “For whosoever shall be ashamed of Me and of My words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also shall be ashamed of him, when He cometh in the glory of His Father with the holy angels” (Mk 8<sup>38</sup>). Cp. Mt 10<sup>32, 33</sup> “Every one therefore who shall confess Me before men, him will I also confess before My Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father which is in heaven.” There can be no question as to which puts the claim of Divine Sonship the more directly. Both give the words of Christ Himself; both are public utterances; both are the result of a gradual development of self-manifestation: yet none can really hold that the fourth Evangelist puts forward a more developed conception, though he gives us longer discourses on the one topic, and shows us that Christ worked out the idea at greater length. Again let us repeat with all due emphasis, he demands to be heard as one who was present; the Synoptists cannot possibly make any such claim.

(f) In the seventh chapter we have some more of the public utterances of our Lord when He came up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles. It is easy enough for us to read between the lines, and

so to see that our Lord's words were intended to convey a message of manifestation ; but this affords no argument as to the advanced doctrine of the second century, which the writer of this Gospel is supposed to obtrude into every portion of his narrative. We have only to read of the result upon the popular mind brought about by our Lord's teaching to see this. "Can it be that the rulers indeed know that this is the Christ" (7<sup>26</sup>), is the comment of some ; but all are not of the same opinion : "Some of the multitude therefore, when they heard these words, said, This is of a truth the prophet. Others said, This is the Christ. But some said, What, doth the Christ come out of Galilee ?" (7<sup>40. 41</sup>).

(g) The Evangelist has now worked up to the crowning point of the revelation. The sayings have been becoming more distinct, and once the populace had said that He "made Himself equal with God."

In 8<sup>58</sup> a stupendous claim is put forth, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Before Abraham was, I am." There was no mistaking these words. It was felt by all who heard them that He was claiming an absolutely Divine prerogative in a formula consecrated to Divine use. Their action is immeditate and suggestive, "They took up stones therefore to cast at Him," the recognized penalty for blasphemy. This leads up to the still plainer speech of 10<sup>30</sup> "I and the Father are one"; again hands fly to stones ; but our Lord checks them with a question which

elicits the fact that now they understand. "Thou being a man, makest Thyself God." Soon after this comes the raising of Lazarus, which to the writer of the Gospel seemed rightly or wrongly to be the one great act which convinced the rulers that action must be taken against Him. After all, there is nothing in the Synoptic accounts which represents a coming to head of the hatred of the authorities, unless it be the triumphal entry. The Fourth Gospel also gives an account of that event, but is at pains to show that the Raising was the root thing, as we have seen. We have now surveyed the public appearances and speeches of Christ apart from the utterances to privileged individuals, and the survey has strikingly shown that there is absolutely nothing in them of that insistence upon the Divinity of Christ from the first, which is pointed out as the chief characteristic of the Fourth Gospel. Indeed there is to be found in this side of the Johannine account the same gradual manifestation as is evident in the Synoptic story. The difference is that this is the main purpose of the Synoptists, for they knew nothing of the other side, whereas the Fourth Gospel has for its prime purpose the private self-revelation, and only incidentally brings out the popular side. And yet, while his mind is full of the fact which he considers hitherto neglected, and which he is most anxious to make clear, there is no real confusion of this side of the self-manifestation with the other;

for in stating certain public events and speeches which have as yet not been recorded, he, probably unconsciously, produces exactly the same effect in brief which the Synoptists present at great length; a very strong proof of the historicity of his record.

## II

After all said and done, the truest indications of the historical value of a record which claims to have been written by an eye-witness is not always to be found upon the surface. A man writing any sort of thing you will, proclaims his purpose, as a rule, very clearly; at times, it is true, he tries to hide it, with the intention that its influence, being thus the more subtle, may more surely prevail in the direction he desires. Be this as it may, the purpose in most cases is writ large over the whole, and is very easily detected by the critical writer. Now, as a rule, a writer has more than one purpose. He begins with a definite resolve, and from that subsidiary purposes are born in course of time. Main purposes are for the most part of two distinct classes, honest and dishonest. With regard to several New Testament writings, we are informed by many modern critics that their purpose is one which, judged according to modern ethics, would be considered most decidedly dishonest. The writers, however, are amply excused by the critics on the ground that they are

to be judged only by certain literary canons which are known to have been in force among the profane writers. The Fourth Gospel belongs to one class of these. According to the critics referred to, a second-century writer puts his narrative into the mouth of an eye-witness, if not of St. John himself. He thus sets forward a view of Christ's office and Person, we are told, which was the result of gradual growth during two or three generations, and leads us to believe in a falsehood, *i.e.* that these notions were set forth by Christ Himself; whereas not only is it the case that they were not, but also such notions were impossible for one of the primitive apostles in view of the Synoptic narratives. The writer, they go on to say, is not perpetrating a fraud, according to his way of thinking, but is only making use of a well-known and widely recognized literary device. I cannot bring myself to think that at the commencement of the second century the leaders of the Church would have fallen so far from the high standard, in the matter of morals, taught by their Master, as to allow (far less encourage) such a proceeding. It is wholly at variance with the whole picture of the Lord drawn by the writer. But even if we allow that the proclamation of the Divinity of Christ is the main purpose of the writer of this Gospel, I do not think that we should look at the broad outline of the scheme in order to test the veracity of the author. I have tried to show that

he deliberately writes as one who produces fresh historical matter, the knowledge of which has come from his own experience. We have therefore no criteria by which to judge of the truth or untruth of all this. To argue from the silence of three writers, all of whom are confessedly of the second generation, is to beat the air. It must be rather to the smaller details, which are subsidiary to the great central purpose or purposes, and which therefore lie outside the change of bias or art, that we must look. Many a great literary project has been spoilt by the defects discovered in the small corroborative details, which have revealed the fact that none of us are omniscient: the endeavour to appear to know the exact minutiae of a bygone age most frequently ends in being too clever. Great changes had come over the Jewish world, and more particularly over their own country. Records were not kept with the ease and care of to-day, while the siege and capture of Jerusalem meant the entire obliteration of the ancient city together with its former life and with such records of the life and its surroundings as might have been compiled. From all this comes the great strength of the argument, as yet not seriously shaken, to the effect that the Gospel bears on every page abundant evidence of the fact that the writer well knew the city and the country before that disastrous overthrow. In the first half of this chapter we have

explored some of the byways of the Gospel. We have seen the unconscious touches which make it strangely parallel to the Synoptic accounts, whereas it has so often been maintained that none such exists. Another side of the examination of minutiae needs to be pointed out. Although we are assured that the fourth Evangelist omits the accounts of Baptism, Temptation, Agony, and the like, because of the humiliation of his Hero involved in these events, yet how wonderfully human is the Johannine Christ as shown in all unconsciousness by the writer! Nothing could be more striking than the intense human interest of the first recorded miracle at Cana of Galilee. It is just a simple homely village wedding, an everyday affair, and the accident which calls for the miracle so perfectly natural. The whole story is delightfully artless; the setting almost childish in its sweet simplicity. That the Holy Mother should turn to Jesus at such a juncture, is just what one would expect from reading the earlier chapters of St. Luke. The coming of Jesus and His Mother as guests to such a festivity is one of those undesigned touches which shows the human relationship in which the human Jesus stood to His neighbours.

In 4<sup>44</sup> we are told "Jesus Himself testified that a prophet had no honour in his own country." This is not only a link with the Synoptic narrative (Mt 13<sup>57</sup>), it is also a touch which shows the

human limitations of our Lord. He acknowledges His failures, and points to a well-known fact in the history of the nation as finding a fresh illustration in His own life. The writer who wished to avoid all references to anything which might imply the humiliation of his Hero in any degree would certainly have omitted this. Another such acknowledgement is found in 5<sup>30</sup> "I can of myself do nothing: as I hear, I judge." Our Lord here brings out fully, as elsewhere, the dependence of His Human Will upon that of His Divine Father, and further still makes it clear that He has His place in the Human Family and in the plan and purpose of God for it.

The commencement of ch. 7 affords another little touch of the nature of which we have been speaking. His brethren scoff at Him for keeping away from Jerusalem, and the writer gives the motives of their scoffs, "for not even did His brethren believe in Him" (7<sup>5</sup>). The crucial test of Christ's humanity would be in His own Home. Those who had been with Him continually were evidently impressed by His ordinary behaviour, if we may so say it, rather than by any manifestations of His Divine Nature. If the latter was as insistent as we are constantly assured, it could not have been wholly without effect upon these men; and if it were, the kind of person portrayed as the author of the Gospel would have been the last person to admit it.

In the passage 7<sup>26. 27</sup> there is a further sidelight on this subject. "Lo, He speaketh openly, and they say nothing unto Him. Can it be that the rulers indeed know that this is the Christ? Howbeit we know this man whence He is: but when the Christ cometh, no one knoweth whence He is."

It is plain from this and similar instances that the claims of Jesus to Divinity were not very clear, so far as the people were concerned. Further still, even the Messiahship in the limited Jewish sense had evidently not been assumed by Him to any great extent, for we find the same perplexity among the populace here as is shown several times in the Synoptic stories. But this passage is certainly an emphasis upon the humanity of Christ. These people know of His home, His surroundings, His reputed parentage. It is an echo of the cry of astonishment in Mt 13<sup>55</sup> "Is not this the carpenter's son? is not His mother called Mary? and His brethren, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas, are they not all with us?"

It is quite evident that the author has no desire to suppress all the details of the human side of Jesus. This does not come directly into his scheme, but he does not exclude it altogether. A second-century person painting the picture of a splendid Divinity, untouched by the little humiliations of an earthly existence, would have scarcely blundered like this.

In another passage (10<sup>30-36</sup>) we have a short argument which our Lord had with the people when He asserted His Oneness with the Father. Here they could not fail to grasp the inner meaning of His claim, though they certainly would not have realized the fulness of its meaning. It was sufficient for them that His words implied a blasphemy. The Lord does not, however, press home upon them the statement. The mind of the people was not ready for that, and the author of the Gospel is perfectly true to the historic conditions. The humanity of Christ comes out in His reply; He adopts the Rabbinic method of exegesis (as St. Paul so often does), and quite disarms the opposition. The Raising of Lazarus in ch. 11 has long been a bone of contention. It has been contended that the miraculous here reaches its highest point short of the Resurrection of Christ Himself, in that emphasis is laid on the fact that Lazarus has been dead four days. To the average reader such details seem most naturally told, and give a reality to the whole account. But then the average reader is not always on the look out for possible weak places, and has no axe to grind. At any rate, no one can deny that the human love for and intimacy with the family circle is most vividly drawn. See also the little things which especially struck the eye-witness, and which show the human side of the whole story: "about fifteen furlongs off," v.<sup>18</sup>; the coming of Martha to meet the

Lord ; the passive grief of Mary (v.<sup>20</sup>) ; " Now Jesus was not yet come into the village, but was still in the place where Martha met Him " (v.<sup>30</sup>) ; " When they saw Mary, that she rose up quickly and went out, (they) followed her, supposing that she was going unto the tomb to weep there " (v.<sup>31</sup>) ; " When Jesus therefore saw her weeping and the Jews also weeping which came with her, He groaned in the spirit and was troubled " (v.<sup>33</sup>) ; " Jesus wept " (v.<sup>35</sup>).

As an "historical novelist," the author of this passage quite equals the best of St. Luke; the whole scene is alive with the figures painted, the canvas presenting a perfect picture. We seem almost to be taking part in it all as we read. If it is fiction, it is the most wonderful ever penned, and we are forced to believe the author's statement that he saw these things, and that his witness is true.

Another scene of self-humiliation is very strongly against the contention that many details are omitted from the Gospel lest they should detract from the dignity of the central figure. In ch. 13<sup>4-12</sup> there is the record of the fact that Christ washed the disciples' feet. Again we have a parallel in the Synoptic narrative, cp. Lk 22<sup>27</sup> " For whether is greater he that sitteth at meat or he that serveth ? Is not he that sitteth at meat ? But I am in the midst of you as he that serveth." This latter serves as an excellent commentary on the Johannine narrative. Little emphasis need be laid on the fact

the whole story speaks for itself in illustration of the perfection of Christ's Humanity. One more incident may be taken, the most touching of all, the delivery by Christ of His mother to the care of the beloved disciple (19<sup>27</sup>). The whole fact of the Crucifixion and Death imposes a humiliation upon the Divine Sufferer, and is a proof, if proof be needed, of the Humanity ; but here is a pathetic touch without any possible purpose lurking behind, which illustrates these things most wonderfully, and adds to the many details which point to the historicity of the Gospel.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE MATTER PECULIAR TO THE GOSPEL

WE have already dealt with that part of the matter peculiar to this Gospel which is supplementary to the Synoptic narratives, in the sense that it is linked on to them by the use of certain phrases which appear there in such a way as to show that the writer is deliberately expanding those accounts. There remains a large portion of the Fourth Gospel which is supplementary in the sense that it adds to the Synoptic outline a great deal which is in no way suggested by the Synoptists themselves. All this, of course, forms a separate subject by itself, and its full treatment lies outside the scope of this work. We are concerned with but one side of it, which is its relation to the other Gospel stories. Jülicher asserts that "a Jesus who preached alternately in the manner of the Sermon on the Mount and of John 14–16 is a psychological impossibility; the distinction between His so-called exoteric and esoteric teaching a palpable absurdity" (*Einleitung*, E.T. p. 421). Nor does he think it worth while to explain his statement. I have endeavoured to show that not

only is the distinction a real one, but is one which appears in the Fourth Gospel itself to some extent. The psychological difficulty is not really very apparent, even setting aside, as, of course, Jülicher does, the question of Divinity. If we were to take the notes of a famous preacher when addressing ordination candidates in the retreat immediately preceding ordination, and were to compare them with the report of addresses given by him in the course of a mission in some slum parish, I venture to think that a very similar "psychological impossibility" would be discoverable. If it were necessary to choose between the two sets of accounts as to which is the more likely to give the *ipsissima verba* of Christ, we unhesitatingly reply that we choose the Johannine. To argue that this author gives us the gist of what was said by Christ in a phraseology of his own, amounts, to my thinking, to saying that we have absolutely no guarantee whatever of the extent to which the fourth Evangelist has added to the words of Christ; and as a result, we should be bound to confess that the Fourth Gospel has little or no claim to be recognized as historical. There is no reason to suppose that the style of Christ's oratory remained always the same. The earliest utterances, such as the Sermon on the Mount, would naturally be of the simplest possible character. Its subject-matter was utterly diverse from anything recorded in the Fourth Gospel. The parables, too, were to

some extent a continuation of the same line of teaching. The Sermon set forth the laws of the new Kingdom, the parables gave instances of their working in practice. With this the fourth Evangelist does not concern himself. It has all been recorded and may be accepted. His main interest, so far as both the public and private ministries of Christ are concerned, is almost wholly in the Person of the Master, the nature of His Kingdom being only touched upon here and there.

(a) THE PROLOGUE.

John 1<sup>1-18</sup>.

The Gospel proper, I take it, commences at v.<sup>10</sup>, the prologue proper consists of vv.<sup>1-14</sup>, while vv.<sup>15-18</sup> serve as a connecting link between the two. The contents of the prologue I understand as indicating that Christ is the Word “(Logos), whose nature is explained as (1) pre-existent, and (2) Divine. These two attributes are proved by His share in creation, and their manifestation is set forth under the symbol of an unconquerable Light. The relation of the forerunner to this light is then explained, and this leads to a mention of the underlying principle and the result of His Coming, the conferring of spiritual sonship. Finally, we have the statement of the historic fact of the Incarnation, with an attendant statement as to the personal experience of the writer as a witness of that peculiarly Divine characteristic, “glory” (*δοξή*), which has well been defined as

the "manifestation of the totality of the Divine attributes."

To commence with this last, it is obvious that the writer refers to some visible and recognizable manifestation. Such would be the meaning of the word *δοξή* to a Jew, and I think that it is not possible to get away from the fact that we have as direct a reference here to the historic fact of the Transfiguration as we have in the earlier part of the verse to the Incarnation. Of the details of these two events the writer tells us nothing. Neither of these references, then, are intended to set forth an intimation to the effect that more full details on these heads will be found in the body of the Gospel except in the secondary sense that the Gospel is a part of the life-story of the Incarnate Logos, and that that story in its fulness exhibits His Glory. To some extent this might have been in the mind of the writer, but there seems to have been rather the outstanding remembrance of two historic facts, for we must consider this verse in its relationship to the rest of the prologue. Again, the Nature of Christ as the Life and the Light can hardly be said to point us to the sort of story that is to follow, still less does the mention of the pre-existence of the Logos do so. We see the working out of these thoughts in the First Epistle of John. In short, the main characteristic of the prologue is its transcendental other-worldliness. There is, it is true, an other-worldliness

in most of the discourses of our Lord in this Gospel, but it is especially characterized by a devotionally practical air. I am more and more convinced by all this that the prologue was written some time after the Gospel had been finished, and that the connecting portion was then penned to make it all of a piece. The prologue, then, is not the starting-point from which the writer from the outset views the Person whose Life he is to portray, but is rather the formal expression of the ultimate, systematized convictions into which his former somewhat nebulous conceptions had been crystallized by the work which he had completed. Thus the much sneered at figure of a primitive Apostle who is able to conceive of a Logos-doctrine, and to write a Gospel round it, becomes a mere man of straw.

(b) THE INTERVIEW WITH NICODEMUS.

Jn 3<sup>1-21</sup>.

Nicodemus appears only in the Johannine story. Consequently efforts have not been wanting to explain him away. Thus it has been contended that our author used the Synoptic details about Joseph of Arimathæa in describing this person, and that therefore the two names represent one concrete person.<sup>1</sup> This Gospel, however, also mentions Joseph; and while it is natural that the two men should have something in common from the similarity of their positions, yet the picture given here

<sup>1</sup> See art. "Nikodemus" in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.*

of Nicodemus is by no means identical with the Synoptic picture of Joseph. Our author pursues his plan consistently and takes the doings of Joseph for granted, but adds the details about Nicodemus. There can be no doubt that this discourse refers to the sacrament of Baptism. The question therefore arises, Does it presuppose the teaching concerning this sacrament during the second century; or does it find any counterpart in the Synoptic narratives? Now the points mentioned in the discourse are these: (1) the fact of regeneration; (2) its needfulness as a qualification for the Kingdom of God. This is a spiritual process, and is spoken of as being "born of the Spirit" (3<sup>8</sup>). The Divine Sonship is not mentioned, nor the cleansing from sin, nor union with Christ. There is no need to go to the second century for any of this teaching. Baptism was a Jewish rite before the time of Christ, and was prescribed as necessary in addition to circumcision for proselytes of the covenant. Of those who had instructed the recipient in the Law three stood as sponsors, and the baptism was by total immersion. Further still, the metaphor of "new birth" was employed in connection with the ceremony; thus Christ says to Nicodemus, "Art thou the teacher of Israel, and understandest not these things?" So it is not surprising to find such expressions as "having been begotten again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, through the Word of God" (1 Pet. 1<sup>23</sup>);

“according to His mercy He saved us through the washing (or laver) of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost” (Tit 3<sup>5</sup>), in the New Testament. There is consequently nothing in the thoughts here expressed which demand a special date for the writing of the Gospel. It remains, however, to be seen whether the teaching involves an entirely new and later aspect of the teaching of Christ. In other words, Was such teaching possible in the mouth of the Synoptic Christ? for that is how the critics argue.

Now, according to the Synoptists, St. John the Baptist has pointed out that while his baptism was no mere repetition of the prevailing practice, but was differentiated from it in important particulars, yet the Messiah was to initiate a higher form still, the central point of which was to be the fiery gift of the Spirit: “I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but He that cometh after me . . . shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire” (Mt 3<sup>11</sup>). That Christian baptism owed its full efficacy to the Resurrection of Christ is evident enough in the Pauline Epistles; and our author himself points to this when he says, “for the Spirit was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified” (7<sup>39</sup>). The same thought is suggested in the later portion of the discourse under discussion, where Christ speaks of the “lifting up” of the Son of man. This does not, however, touch the present

point, which is that the spiritual nature of the baptism as a bestowal of the Holy Spirit Himself is mentioned in the Synoptic narratives. The importance of baptism as effecting a change in the faithful recipient is marked in the appendix to St. Mark's Gospel, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved" (16<sup>16</sup>). This appendix, while not a part of the original Gospel, certainly represents primitive Apostolic tradition, and is quite rightly incorporated into the Synoptic account. The new conditions essential to the member of the Kingdom of God (or, of the heavens) are fully set out in the Synoptic stories under the guise of parables, and the phrase which sums them up in the Fourth Gospel, "new birth," is, as we have seen, a Jewish one. There is nothing here, then, impossible in the mouth of the Synoptic Christ. To argue, as does Weizsäcker (*Apostolic Age*, E.T. ii. p. 225), that the phrase "no man hath ascended up to heaven, but He that came down" (3<sup>13</sup>), presupposes the Ascension, is scarcely relevant. No one will wish to contend that the Gospel was written before that event took place; the obvious meaning of the phrase when considered in the light of the immediate context is to show that the power of putting aside earthly environment and regarding earthly things from a pure heavenly view is not possible for any but He who came down from heaven. It is not difficult to overdo this much-used method of determining the date

of the documents which make up our New Testament. Why not argue that the eschatological portions of the Gospel were not written until after the Parousia?

(c) THE EVENTS IN SAMARIA.

Jn 4<sup>42</sup>.

The interest of our Lord in the Samaritans is plainly shown in the parable of the Good Samaritan, the point of which is plainly to emphasize the excellency of the despised Samaritan's conduct in contrast with that of the important Jewish ecclesiastical officials. But the antithesis would have been greater had a Gentile been cited. Also we notice that the Samaritan journey is not necessarily fictitious. In Luke 9<sup>51ff.</sup> we have the record of certain incidents which occurred in Samaria. It is quite possible that our author considers that St. Luke has the Samaritan journey in the wrong place, and gives some erroneous circumstances in connection with it, for there our Lord was going to Jerusalem, here He is leaving Judæa for Galilee. Most probably, though, the occasions are quite distinct. It may seem curious that, after the effect produced here, so hostile a position should have been adopted as is shown in the Lucan story; but, after all, each incident is purely local, and the attitude of those mentioned in St. Luke is quite understandable under the given circumstances. The following passages are curiously parallel as regards the

underlying thought, and show the Master's teaching in the two Gospels to be not dissimilar.

Jn 4<sup>35</sup>.

Say not ye, There are yet four months, and then cometh the harvest? behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, that they are white already unto harvest.

Mt 9<sup>37</sup>.

Then saith He unto His disciples, The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few (=Lk 10<sup>2</sup>).

#### (d) TWO MIRACLES.

In Jn 4<sup>46-54</sup> two miracles are narrated. The objection to the first is trivial enough. It is quoted as an example of the fact that the conception of the miraculous in this Gospel is an advance upon that of the Synoptists. It was not sufficient for this writer, we are told, that his Hero was a wonder-worker, he must intensify the wonder. So in this instance the miracle is accomplished from a distance, without Christ seeing the patient at all. There is certainly no greater degree of miracle-working in this than in, say, the cleansing of the ten lepers, where there is nothing to suggest that an "explanation" is possible. The only possible one would be that in most cases, if not all, a "faith-cure" was effected owing to the extreme agitation of the patients, since the full belief of the sick in the certainty of their recovery at the hands of Christ was the chief means whereby they were made whole. In the present instance, however, it is the father of the sick person who comes into contact with the

Saviour, while the subject of the miracle is not, apparently, under the influence of faith at all. As a matter of fact, the sick son probably knew of his father's mission, so that the effect might be just as easily explained, if it were necessary, in the same way as the others. And yet there is no need, for a parallel is to be found in the Synoptic Gospels in Mk 9<sup>14-25</sup> (=Mt 17<sup>14</sup>). Here the father of a possessed child comes to seek the aid of the Lord, and the whole stress is laid upon the faith of the father and not upon that of the patient; while St. Matthew's account emphasizes the personality of Jesus, since the man had come primarily to the disciples, seemingly with full faith in their power to do as he desired, but they failed to produce the required effect. Had this been the Johannine story, much would have been made of it.

The next miracle is the healing of the infirm man at the pool of Bethesda, which shows, by the way, the intimate knowledge of Jerusalem, before the catastrophe of 70, possessed by the writer. After the miracle follows a discourse in which there are several passages parallel with the Synoptists. Two are given here, and they serve to show the underlying unity between the teaching of Christ in this Gospel and in the other narratives.

Jn 5<sup>19</sup>.

The Son can do nothing of  
Himself, but what He seeth the  
Father doing.

Mt 11<sup>27</sup>.

All things are delivered unto  
Me of My Father.

So in the same way if we compare Jn 5<sup>22-29</sup> with Mt 13<sup>41, 42</sup> and 24<sup>29-31</sup> we find the same conception of Christ as the Judge plainly set forth in each. There is no need to follow out all the parallels; any thoughtful student may find them for himself.

(e) THE DISCOURSE AT CAPHARNAUM.

Jn 6.

The parallels are as follow:—Jn 6<sup>42</sup>=Mt 13<sup>55</sup>; Jn 6<sup>48</sup>=Mt 11<sup>27</sup>; Jn 6<sup>69</sup>=Mt 16<sup>16</sup>.

The presence of Christ at Capharnaum upon this occasion is substantiated by the Marcan Gospel. Our author is in agreement with the outline of St. Mark, but adds this discourse, as he was convinced of the importance of it. Now the discourse is most certainly to be taken as having some bearing upon the Eucharist. If, however, we are to take it that the doctrine of the Eucharist current at the moment of writing is here put into our Lord's mouth, we shall scarcely know how far to bring the Gospel down. Indeed the doctrine was not in any way defined within any limits possible for this work. It is quite true that there are no passages in the Synoptists parallel to the central portion of the discourse, *i.e.* v.<sup>51</sup> "And the bread which I will give is My flesh, for the life of the world"; v.<sup>53</sup> "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves"; v.<sup>55</sup> "For My flesh is true meat, and My

blood is true drink." And yet there are certain portions of the discourse which show a close likeness to the teaching of Christ in the Synoptists, while not in any way suggesting that this writer is necessarily dependent upon them. I cannot help feeling that a later writer who wished only to emphasize the Eucharistic teaching of his own day, (1) would not have chosen this place for the discourse, but would have set it among the private talks with the little band; (2) would have confined himself to the scriptural and Apostolic phraseology, and thus would have been content with the expressions "Body" and "Blood," without introducing the notion of "flesh"; (3) would have been much more definite in connecting the discourse with the thought of the institution of the sacrament itself.

(f) JESUS AT JERUSALEM.

Jn 7<sup>10</sup>–10<sup>39</sup>.

One portion of this part of the narrative is not the work of the author of the Gospel, *i.e.* 7<sup>53</sup>–8<sup>17</sup>, and may be left out of consideration. There are not many verbal parallels to be found here with the Synoptists, though we may compare such passages as Jn 8<sup>17</sup> and Mt 18<sup>16</sup>. What does appear is that the view taken by the writer of the general tone of society, of the official opposition to Christ, of the attitude of the people towards Him, is perfectly in keeping with the aspect of these things seen in the

Synoptists. That this author chooses fresh illustrations of these things is but a part of his plan, and is a mark of his sincerity. The fact that the fourth Evangelist deals so much with the work of Christ at Jerusalem, and that the personalities of those with whom He came in touch there were so different from those mainly dealt with in the other Gospels, accounts for much of the difference of atmosphere discernible between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptists, and a great deal of which is superficial. Further, we shall find, if we read carefully, something of that difference in the Synoptists themselves in comparing the words of Christ as spoken in the outlying portions of Judaea with those discourses recorded as being delivered at Jerusalem. Compare, for instance, the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew with chs. 22-25 of the same Gospel. Had these last formed part of a separate Gospel we should find, I think, great contrasts drawn by the critics between them and the others mentioned above.

(g) THE RAISING OF LAZARUS.

Jn 11.

Here is a subject which has long proved a stumbling-block to many people. We may leave out of account the hypercritical assertion that we have an intensified version of the miracle of raising the dead, since here we are told that the body has laid some days in the grave ; for beside the Resurrec-

tion of Christ all these miracles become comparatively simple. It is obvious that there is absolutely no reference in the Synoptists to this event. The only possible inference is that they knew nothing about it. Professor Burkitt voices the difficulty in the preface to the second edition of his work, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*. He says there, "As a rule, the critics limit themselves to bringing forth reasons why the Synoptic Gospels are silent about the Raising of Lazarus; what they have not done is to explain how and where the tale as told in the Fourth Gospel can possibly be inserted into the framework given by St. Mark. The 'argument from silence' in this case is not merely that the Raising of Lazarus is ignored by St. Mark, but that his narrative appears to leave no room to fit it in" (p. vii). The whole force of this depends upon the attitude adopted towards St. Mark's outline. Is it possible, for instance, to take Mark 10 as being the record of a single unbroken journey? I do not think so, and I venture to think that Professor Burkitt will agree with me. The writer is compiling a Gospel at second-hand many years after the events he is discussing. There is nothing to suggest that he is giving us anything in the shape of a diary. He has decided upon a chronological outline which seems to be fairly satisfactory as regards the general grouping of events. But in 10<sup>17</sup> and in 10<sup>32</sup> we

have evidence of breaks in the narrative. The wording may possibly imply mere halts, but it is far more probable that the writer is recording certain events which he knows took place prior to the last arrival at Jerusalem, and which he believes occurred during the last journey thither. Now in Jn 10<sup>40-42</sup> we find Jesus spoken of as being "beyond Jordan," which corresponds to Mk 10<sup>1</sup>. The fourth Evangelist gives no account of the journey thence until he mentions the arrival at Bethany in 12<sup>1</sup>, which corresponds to the Marcan narration of the same incident in Mk 11<sup>1</sup>. It is abundantly evident, then, that the writer of our Gospel refers us to St. Mark and the other two Evangelists for details of the journey. But he also tells of an event which occurred during that interval. The portion of the outline of St. Mark into which it has to be inserted is thus made quite plain, and by the fourth Evangelist himself. Either, then, the news of Lazarus' sickness came to Christ when He was beyond Jordan, with the results told in Jn 11, after which He returned to Ephraim. In this case the earlier portion of Mk 11 must refer to this journey to Bethany. Or else the news found Christ upon His journey, with the result that He went to Bethany and then returned to Ephraim, from whence He subsequently came to Jerusalem *via* Bethany again. Either of these explanations give us a possible sequence of events, and both are compatible with the Marcan

outline. But the objection to the first would naturally be that the distance was great, and that the journeying in St. Mark suggests a somewhat slow progress. On the other hand, Jn 11<sup>7</sup> "Let us go into Judæa again," shows that at that moment they were outside that province, and were, therefore, a long way from Bethany, while v.<sup>6</sup> "He abode at that time two days in the place where He was," makes it evident that our Lord was designedly procrastinating in His movements.

The other view, however, has much to be said for it. Our Lord is making His way to Jerusalem, though the disciples are not aware of this intention. He hears of the illness of Lazarus and proceeds in due course to Bethany, and afterwards returns to Ephraim. This may have taken place either between the events narrated in vv.<sup>16. 17</sup> of Mk 10, the latter verse introducing a fresh incident with the very vague phrase, "and as He was going forth into the way" (*καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς ὁδόν*) ; or between vv.<sup>31-32</sup>, the latter of which again has a vague introduction, "and they were in the way going up to Jerusalem" (*\*Ησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱερουσάλημα*). It cannot really be maintained that the outline of St. Mark is so precise and definite as not to admit of such interpolations ; and, taking it on the whole, the latter explanation seems to be the more likely. The exact sequence

of events as compared in the two Gospels is well seen in the following table :

28 A.D.				
March-April . . . .	Jn 6 <sup>1-21</sup>	= Mk 6 <sup>30-52</sup> .		
April-September . . . .	Jn 7 <sup>1</sup>	= Mk 7 <sup>4-10</sup> <sup>31</sup> .		
October-November . . . .	Jn 7 <sup>2-10</sup> <sup>31</sup> .			
December . . . .	Jn 10 <sup>22-42</sup> .			
29 A.D.				
January . . . .	Jn 11 <sup>1-53</sup> .			
January-March . . . .	Jn 11 <sup>54</sup>	= Mk 10 <sup>32-52</sup> .		
March-April . . . .	Jn 12 <sup>1</sup>	= Mk 11 <sup>1</sup> .		

It will be noticed that some of the fourth Evangelist's characteristic treatment of the Synoptic outline, as provided by St. Mark, is well illustrated in the above table. In one verse he refers to events related at some length by St. Mark, and thus keeps in touch with that writer's chronology without repeating unnecessary matter; at another time he fills in blanks in the Marcan narrative at considerable length.

There remains, of course, another difficulty with regard to this miracle. If it were true that this miracle attracted such great attention and produced so great a sensation as our author would have us believe, how is it that none of the Synoptists had ever heard of it, or, at any rate, had completely forgotten it by the time that they wrote? I can only suppose that the fourth Evangelist was mistaken upon this point. To him, as he looked back, it seemed as though this had been the great

crisis. He knew that some informants had gone off to the authorities, as no doubt they were always doing. To account for the triumphal crowds at the great entry he could only point—as he does in the story of it (12<sup>17</sup>)—to the widespread knowledge of the miracle. He thus exalts it into a matter of the greatest importance, whereas it was probably a very quiet family affair. We know how insistent our Lord was upon the fact that the recipients of His healing mercies were “to tell no man of it.” Probably the same injunction had been given here, and had been loyally acted upon by those who were His most intimate friends. The lapse of time had completely upset the writer’s mental perspective, and finding no immediate cause for or explanation of the suddenness of the last crisis given by the Synoptists, he thinks that he is able to supply all this from his own personal knowledge. I do not think that there is anything strained or unreal in such an explanation of the phenomenon; it seems far more natural than the suggestion that the writer is inventing a miracle, which does not serve any particular purpose other than that which we have indicated.

(h) THE LAST DISCOURSES.

Jn 13–17.

We have in these chapters a beautiful picture of the intimacy which must have existed between Christ and His disciples, but of which little is told

us elsewhere. And it is really not unnatural. The three Synoptists were of the second generation of Christians; they were none of them there to hear the private sayings of Christ, nor were those sayings at all essential to an outline of the ministry. These writers busied themselves about producing what they could of the public life of the Lord, and such private sayings as they produce are of immediate importance as regards their purpose, to wit, the confession of St. Peter and its sequel, the institution of the Eucharist, the proving of the reality of the Resurrection, and so forth. In the chapters under discussion we have matter, the main importance of which is devotional, and the main interest of which is personal. For us the picture of Christ would be incomplete without this additional knowledge, since we have read and known these sayings; but the knowledge of Him would not have been intrinsically lessened had they not been known to us. There are many little touches which serve to connect them with the Synoptic portrait of the Saviour, and the only reason for which they are really attacked is that they are found in the Fourth Gospel. Had any or all of them appeared in one of the Synoptists it is probable that not one of the charges made against them would have been produced. The objections are for the most part either frivolous or far-fetched.

The psychological impossibility which has been said to be shown by them we have already dealt with.

It is further stated that the universal nature of the new Kingdom, suggested by certain phrases in them, affords ample evidence of the fact that they belong entirely to an age when the Church's horizon had considerably widened. We are told that the view presented of the conception of the Gentiles entering the Church is developed even beyond that of St. Paul. In the Synoptists the Gentiles are but dimly hinted at, and then the reason suggested is that the Jews are unworthy; whereas in the Epistles of St. Paul the Gospel was always intended to be for Jew and Gentile. "In the Fourth Gospel," says Weizsäcker (*Apostolic Age*, ii. p. 218), "the advance to the Gentiles takes the form of a natural extension, of a growth from a given point." Now it has always been pointed out that St. Luke's Gospel has universality as one of its dominating characteristics. The more we read that Gospel the more we feel the force of the contention, but the references to the Gentiles in the other Gospels are not so very dim after all. Take the following passages, Mt 21<sup>40. 41</sup>, where the failure of the Jews to profit by their inheritance is shown as involving their supersession; also 22<sup>9</sup>, where again the Gentiles are quite plainly referred to, and with no dimness. Nothing could be more direct than the command, "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name," etc. (Mt 28<sup>19</sup>; cp. Mk 16<sup>15</sup>). Several such passages and allusions can be found in these

two Gospels, while the third is full of them, and it is evident that the same underlying ideas on this subject are to be found in the Synoptists as are discoverable in the Fourth Gospel. Again, it is most natural that the idea should be set forth more plainly in private discourses with the disciples than in the public teaching. Nor can it be said for a moment that there is any undue prominence given to it even in these private talks. Also, I think that the difference between the attitude adopted towards the Gentiles in St. Paul and St. John is quite an exaggeration. If it were part of the eternal purpose that the Gentiles should be included, it was only natural that there should be a gradual expansion, a definite growth. The very fact that Christ was sprung from the Jewish race, and that His disciples were of the same nationality, made it quite certain, humanly speaking, that the primary appeal would be to the Jews. Indeed, few things are more remarkable than the part which the Jews unconsciously played in the preparation of the Roman world for the reception of the Gospel. These are futile and unnecessary objections ; they scarcely need refutation.

Again, nothing is easier than to say "that the explanation of the universe by the Divine Logos, and the ideas of life and light, remind one of the Gnostic doctrines" (Weizsäcker, *op. cit.* ii. p. 218). Most heresies, if not all, take their rise from and make their stand upon some portions of Scripture,

and we may be constantly *reminded* of heresies as we read. It is quite certain that there are no definite traces of the second-century controversies to be found in the Gospel. Anything may be twisted into being an allusion to such, but will not amount to proof. As Dr. Drummond well says, "I think we may safely affirm that, if we except Docetism, which is said to have been a very early form of heresy, no one could suspect, from reading the Gospel and First Epistle of John, that such controversies ever existed, and there is not a single passage which receives a clear and unquestioned illumination from our knowledge of them" (*The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 381 f.). This side of the subject is an interesting study, but it lies outside our present purpose. For us it is sufficient that there is quite enough in the discourses to connect them for us with the Synoptic Christ; the following passages well illustrate this connection: Jn 14<sup>13</sup>=Mt 7<sup>7</sup>; Jn 15<sup>2</sup>=Mt 15<sup>13</sup>; Jn 13<sup>16</sup>=Mt 10<sup>24</sup>; Jn 16<sup>32</sup>=Mt 26<sup>31</sup>.

It can hardly be argued that our author is dependent on St. Matthew for these passages. He would scarcely have confined himself to so few sayings had he wished to prove that his discourses were genuine sayings of Christ. But the fact that a large section peculiar to this Gospel contains these links connecting it with the Matthæan Logia, is a subtle proof of the

probability that these discourses were really spoken by Christ.

(i) THE LAST CHAPTER.

We have in ch. 21 what is confessedly an appendix to the Gospel. It bears its meaning on the surface. A saying of the Lord was current among the brethren in Asia to the effect that the writer of the Gospel, now advanced in age, should not die. In view of the prevailing feeling that the Parousia was at hand, such a view might easily arise from the words of Christ. The writer does not share this interpretation, and is at pains to give the exact circumstances attendant upon the saying of the Lord. There is nothing very unnatural in this; indeed it is the reverse. To suppose that the writer was simply using the current saying as the basis of an apocryphal incident is most unnecessary and unwarranted. The fact that the saying was still kept in the oral tradition was a proof of its genuineness, though not a final proof. I can see no reason for doubting the historicity of this incident. One thing is quite certain, and it is that the appendix is the work of the author of the other twenty chapters.

We are struck, then, by the fact that our author is ready to abide by the criticism that his independent Gospel is most likely to arouse. He makes no apology for the fact that it sets forth a new aspect of the Christ; and yet while running counter to the

Synoptists in a few details, he abides by their outline for the most part. Further, apart from the outline, he is only related to them by certain subtle touches which lie under the surface and are scarcely to be reckoned as having been introduced by design, but are rather coincidences which arise from the truthfulness of his record. Does not all this go a long way towards proving that after all he *was* an eye-witness of what he describes ?

The points we have dealt with so far, then, go to prove that the author was writing in full view of the three Synoptic Gospels. They prove also, I think, that he had no idea of superseding these extant accounts. After all said and done, we should often be puzzled by the Fourth Gospel if it stood alone. The omissions are mostly hinted at in one form or another, as we have seen, whilst the additions are in several instances dependent upon one or other of the Synoptics. Had there been any intention of writing a Gospel which was to be the standard of reference for the life of Christ, most of these things which our author omits entirely he would have had to record in some form or other. "The Word was made flesh," for instance, could never have stood as an adequate description or definition of the Incarnation. The very fact of St. Paul's one definite allusion to the same event contains the phrase "made of a woman," would have demanded some sort of explanation. Whatever the

preconceived notions of the writer might be as to the nature of that stupendous Act, he could not have left it to posterity in these few enigmatical words. They very obviously look back to some definite statement as to its nature, and can only be rightly understood as expressing in the language of one who has grown to be something of a mystic, acquiescence in recorded stories. So also with regard to the conversation with Nicodemus, and the discourse at Capharnaum in ch. 6. We cannot but feel that, to whatever extent they reflect current views on the two great sacraments, they must refer, for their Divine institution, to the Synoptic narratives, as, apart from these narratives, the Fourth Gospel would only give us the teaching of Christ with regard to them and not the authority, whereas the authority is the more important factor.

Other instances can easily be found by the reader, and their force is very great in emphasizing the fact that the fourth Evangelist leans upon the Synoptic narratives, and wishes only to complete what has been aptly called "the fourfold portrait of the heavenly King." If it were proved, in any degree, that the writer was working under the influence of the popular conception of Christ which prevailed in his day, he must have written the whole story from an independent point of view, and his work must have involved a mass of discrepancies and contradictions. As it is, the discrepancies,

which are not numerous, are easily explicable, and their corrective attitude wholly justifiable. On the other hand, one whose claim to be an eye-witness was false, must have taken every care to avoid anything of the sort. The transference of the incident of the temple cleansing to the commencement of the ministry would have been clumsy and senseless; the reiteration of the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand, with its deft little touches, almost impossible; the wholly diverse story of the call of St. Peter, a grievous blunder in the light of the close and careful agreement with the Synoptic outline in many small details and particulars. In short, the Gospel is impossible of explanation save by the supposition that the author was a most responsible person, who wrote with a perfect and exact knowledge, not only of the Synoptic outline, but of the very events which constitute that outline.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE GOSPEL

I HAVE no desire or intention to go over the oft-trodden paths in connection with this side of the subject. Any student of the Gospel is fairly familiar with them. We need only to see the relationship of what we have said with this ever-open question. External evidence has much weight, internal evidence contributes its quota, while probability hangs in the balance, leaning now this way, now that. We are only concerned at present with the relation of the Gospel to the Synoptists, and need, therefore, here, as all through, to put a curb upon our desire to go once more through the whole array of evidence. From frequent, prayerful study of the Gospel, I think it comes out quite clearly for anybody that the author was not one who can in any sense be called a romance-writer, nor one who wished to bolster up by what he wrote the theological speculations of the particular decade in which he wrote. He sits down to write as one who had a genuine, earnest, heart-whole love for the Master. He has certain

records before him, which he has studied with earnestness and care. He is convinced that the great subject demands further treatment. One thing strikes him above all else. Where is the record of the actions and speeches of Christ as He appeared to those who were always with Him? This, I take it, is the main intention of the author, namely, to write an account of the revelation which Jesus vouchsafed to His personal disciples, as opposed to that which the Synoptists wish to portray throughout their narratives, the self-revelation of Christ to the world. This was not, could not have been, identical with the other. Our author's claim is that he is able to show this from his own personal experience. To what extent, then, does he establish that claim?

Well, as is usually the case, certain subsidiary purposes assert themselves as he studies his sources. Much of what has been written is undoubtedly correct, and so it may all be taken for granted, for he has a great deal to treat of, and the literary exigencies of his day serve to circumscribe his ideas as to what constitutes a large work. But in certain particulars recorded in the histories which he has read, there are errors which he will have to correct, and in others there is such a paucity of detail as to obscure, in his own opinion, the chief point. These incidents will need to be somewhat elaborated. Thus some of his additional matter will have to be

merely explanatory, and must serve the purpose of expanding the existing stories, while in other cases he will have to emphasize the fact that the incidents or speeches recorded led on to others which, for some unknown reason, have been omitted. Apart from these rather minor details, there remains for him the gigantic task of setting forth the private side of the life of Christ, startling, perhaps, in the directness and intensity of its appeal, and yet so different from the existing records in setting and in nature, as to make the author feel, of necessity, that his work is bound to be challenged by some. The most extraordinary thing, it seems to me, is that the claim upon which he bases his right to record all this is not pushed forward with any undue fervour or anything in the nature of an appeal. It comes out simply and naturally in the narrative, and is more often unconscious than conscious. It is for this reason that it appeals to us so strongly.

In the same way his purpose is nowhere stated in so many words, nor is it even hinted at. He is so confident of the strength of his own authority and of the need for his Gospel, as well as of its truthfulness, that he quietly pursues his way without any such *apologia* as that with which St. Luke opens his Gospel. I cannot help thinking that a romancer, with this excellent precedent before him, would have made both his purpose and his identity plain. He gives us, it is true, a prologue to his

Gospel, and we are at once cognisant of the fact that this prologue sums up the teaching of the Gospel. But so wonderfully does it fulfil this task that we are compelled to see that the prologue must have been composed for this very purpose, and after the Gospel was completed. The importance of this is that the author has not set himself the task of writing what might be called a Logos-Gospel; indeed, the opposite is the case. The more he ponders over all that he has written, the more he realizes the wonder and splendour of the Nature of Christ. It is so for every thoughtful Christian. He has come, meanwhile, into an increasingly closer touch with Alexandrine philosophy, and therefore falls into its phraseology, probably in all unconsciousness, and mindful rather of its Jewish significance and history. Is he departing in all this from Synoptic tradition? In one sense, yes, in another, no. And even in the first sense it must be a qualified "yes." He departs from that tradition in that he sets himself to give us a side of the story of Christ scarcely touched upon by them. But the qualification of our affirmative is twofold. The picture thus drawn is not out of keeping with the few glimpses that we have of the same side of that story in the Synoptic Gospels. They do not wish to emphasize that side, for it was beyond their ken; he does wish to, because he was fully qualified to do so; and yet his picture bears a

resemblance to theirs. And so again, as we have seen, when he is treating of the public side of the Christ-life, which he does only incidentally, his picture tallies with the work of the Synoptists in the one central particular, the gradual manifestation of His Mission and His Personality, the illustration of which is the nett result of all their work.

In the second sense he does not depart from the Synoptic tradition, in that he is telling of the same historic Christ, and refers tacitly to them for particulars of that Life, with which he does not wish to encumber his own story. Now, if his main purpose was such as we have stated it to be, it goes a long way towards refuting the charge that the Fourth Gospel sets before us an ideal Christ. The moral grounds upon which we resist such a charge need not be gone further into; they are manifest. But we are also bound to ask, how it is that such a wide gulf separates off this Gospel from the spurious Gospels which obtained in the second and third centuries? It may be objected that they were merely puerile. True, but we have to remember that they represent the current popular conceptions of what the Christ might or should have been, and they had widespread popularity. Further, we have to remember that the Apocalypse of Peter seems to us to be crudely puerile; and yet it, too, gained great popularity, and hovered for a while upon the fringe of

the Canon. These things were the natural products of the age. How are we to account for the fact that from out of this far-reaching desire to portray the Christ from the point of view of current theological speculation, but one masterpiece emerged, and that infinitely superior to all the other attempts ? There is absolutely no comparison between them, nor any half-way house. We ask, then, who was it who could thus treat the Life of Christ with any hope that his work could be generally accepted ? It must either have been one who had personal knowledge of the facts dealt with, or else one who had long been in personal relationship with an eye-witness. Yet our author claims that he was the eye-witness, and leads us to suppose that he is "the disciple whom Jesus loved." Our contentions all go to prove that this claim is fully justified. We find, then, that we have to choose between one of two possibilities. Either the writer was John the son of Zebedee, or else he was a disciple of the Lord, not one of the Twelve, and yet so treated by Christ as to have borne the title mentioned above. As far as we can see from all available sources, this disciple bore the name of John. To begin with, the fact of such a person existing without being one of the Twelve is exceedingly unlikely. We may leave out of sight the contention that the Apostle John had been put to death ; the evidence is too slight. But what is there to be said in favour of two Johns ?

There is nothing to suggest it in the New Testament, unless we suppose that it was improbable that the Apocalypse was written by the Apostle, whereas it bears the name of John. But if it was not written by the Apostle, the writer is intending to place it to the credit of that person according to the recognized apocalyptic device. Outside the New Testament there is only the fragment of the work of Papias preserved by Eusebius. I think it is worth while to quote the passage at some length. "Five books of Papias are extant, which bear the title Expositions of Oracles of the Lord (*Δογίων Κυριακῶν Ἐξηγήσεις*). Of these Irenæus also makes mention as the only works written by him, in the following words: "These things Papias, who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient worthy, witnesseth in writing in the fourth of his books. For there are five books composed by him." So far Irenæus.

" Yet Papias himself, in the preface to his discourses, certainly does not declare that he himself was a hearer and eye-witness of the holy Apostles; but he shows, by the language that he uses, that he received the matters of the faith from those who were their friends :

" ' But I will not scruple also to give a place for you along with my interpretations to everything that I learnt carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the Elders, guaranteeing its truth.

For, unlike the many, I did not take pleasure in those who have so very much to say, but in those who teach the truth; nor in those who relate foreign commandments, but in those (who record) such as were given from the Lord to the Faith, and are derived from the Truth itself. And again, on any occasion when a person came (in my way) who had been a follower of the Elders (*παρηκολουθηκώς τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις*), I would inquire about the discourses of the Elders—what was said by Andrew or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew (*τί Ἀνδρέας ή τί Πέτρος εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ.*), or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, say (*ἄ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης λέγουσιν*). For I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.'

"Here it is worth while to observe that he twice enumerates the name of John. The first he mentions in connection with Peter and James and Matthew and the rest of the Apostles, evidently meaning the Evangelist; but the other John he mentions after an interval, and classes with others outside the number of the Apostles, placing Aristion before him; and he distinctly calls him an Elder. So that he hereby makes it quite evident that there were two persons of that name in Asia, and that

there are two tombs in Ephesus, each of which even now is called (the tomb) of John. And it is important to notice this; for it is probable that it was the second, if one will not admit that it was the first, who saw the Revelation which is ascribed by name to John. And Papias, of whom we are now speaking, confesses that he had received the words of the Apostles from those who had followed them, but says that he himself was a follower of Aristion and the Elder John. At all events he mentions them frequently by name, and besides records their traditions in his writings" (*Eusebius, H. E.* iii. 39).

Let it be observed, first of all, that the worthy historian himself has got rather mixed in his references to the words of Papias. The reason given by him for supposing two Johns is that Papias distinctly calls him an Elder. But he also calls him "a disciple of the Lord," as he had named the first group (I think that this phrase is amply substantiated in spite of doubts thrown upon it), and he also has called the first group Elders, as he now names John. Further, this title fences off John from Aristion, and joins him to the first group. Eusebius is careful to speak of the Apostle as "the Evangelist," be it noticed. The two tombs prove nothing, but suggest confusion. The two Johns make confusion worse confounded. Nor would it be a matter of very great importance which of the two

wrote the Gospel. If the "Elder John" was our Lord's most intimate friend and disciple, and wrote the Gospel as such, we should not feel much troubled as to whether he were the Apostle or no, as we should know that we had the reliable testimony of an eye-witness. But it is to be noticed that it is customary among most critics to connect the Gospel indirectly with the Apostle. As Dr Moffatt puts it, "It is Johannine, many critics will admit, upon any theory of its origin; even although they see no adequate reason for accepting the tradition which assigns the book to the Apostle John, and several cogent reasons to the contrary, they would hardly deny that nevertheless the volume is Johannine in the sense that any historical element throughout its pages may be traced back, directly or indirectly, to that Apostle and his school" (*Historical N.T.*, p. 497). I confess that I am unable to understand such a position. Dr. Moffatt places the Gospel in the decade 95–115. He also allows the presence of the Apostle in Asia, and then speaks of "tracing back" influences to the Apostle. The tradition which gives us the picture of the Apostle in Ephesus also shows that he was alive in the neighbourhood of the year 100. Now this means that up to that date there would be preserved in Asia the primitive picture of the historic Christ. How, then, are we to account for the advanced development of doctrine which the Gospel is said to

show on the question of the Person of Christ come into existence even by 115? The whole question, then, amounts to this, was "the Elder" (or Presbyter) another title of the Apostle St. John? It is a question which cannot be finally decided. It may, however, be said with perfect justice, that there is strong ground for supposing that this is so. The language of Papias is obscure. We have to bear in mind that we only have it at second hand, though Eusebius seems to be quoting verbatim from an actual work of Papias. We must make the best of the words as we find them. It will be noticed also that he has the phrase "what was said" when referring to the first group, and "what they say" in reference to the latter. It may well mean that Papias is quoting again from John the Apostle whom he has already mentioned, but to whom he makes a second reference, since he alone of the other group survived to the time of Papias himself. I think that there is some force in the argument, especially as he speaks of the "living and abiding voice." Dr. Drummond considers that the reference is to books written by Aristion and John, or immediately connected with them. His arguments are interesting, and should be read (*op. cit.* p. 201 ff.). Irenæus, who should know, states that Papias was a follower of St. John the Apostle; and Eusebius is not very convincing in his argument to the contrary. The second and third Epistles of John are certainly, I think, from

the hand of the writer of the first, and he in turn was the author of the Gospel. Of this I have no doubt whatever. In the two latter Epistles we have once more the title "Elder" (*Presbuteros*). The real difficulty, to my mind, is the person of Aristion. Who could he have been? If he were really so important a person as Papias here makes him, and in so close relationship with John, the most probable author of the Gospel, be he the Apostle or another, how is it that we have no mention of him in the Gospel itself? It seems to me most unnatural. The only knowledge we have of him comes from Papias; for the Roman martyrology which refers to him makes him one of the Seventy, on the authority of Papias. The reference runs as follows: "Salaminæ in Cypro sancti Aristionis, qui (ut idem Papias testatur) fuit unus de Septuaginta-duobus Christi discipulis." I am strongly of opinion that the name of this person has been wrongly handed down. The only persons mentioned in the Fourth Gospel outside the apostolic band are Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa. Could he have been one of these? There is no possible method of connecting him with either, and conjecture is of little value, especially in these days when every one has some new conjectural emendation or explanation for every possible difficulty; but if anything were to come to light which enabled us to connect Aristion with Nicodemus, I should not

be greatly surprised. The only suggestion that comes from tradition is Andrew, who is connected with the author of the Gospel in the Muratorian fragment. The position of the person of this name, such as we know of it, presents an unintelligible puzzle. The terms which Papias uses of him, and which seem to connect him in office and in associateship with "Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, and Matthew," deepen the mystery. It is possible, again, that he might have been one of the Apostles not mentioned above, but we are without any possible information on this point.

The theory of the two Johns is of the nature of a compromise. It was well set forth by Dr. Delff (*Das vierte Evangelium*), and was taken up by Bousset (*Offenbarung*), Harnack (*Chronologie*), McGiffert (*History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*), and in a modified form is supported by Dr. Moffatt (*Historical N.T.*), and Dobschütz (*Probleme des Apostolischen Zeitalters*). It states that the author of the Gospel was one John, the "beloved disciple" (though they are not all agreed as to this last), who as a member of a rich priestly family was a native of Jerusalem. One point, however, in connection with this theory seems to have escaped notice. If there were two Johns, it is plain from this passage of Eusebius that the Apostle was dead. We firmly believe that he lived to a great age; and so Eusebius tacitly allows, by naming him the Evangelist, and thus bearing out

tradition on this point, which while making him the author of the Gospel, also speaks of him as living to the time of Trajan. The upholders of this theory, or some of them (cp. Dr. Moffatt), also allow the one-time presence of St. John the Apostle in Ephesus. What, then, must have been the ages of Aristion and the Elder John, also disciples of the Lord, and therefore of much the same age as the Apostle, if they outlived the Evangelist! The difficulty is smoothed away if John the second is identical with John the first. And this seems to me the only solution of the problem.

The objections to the Apostle as the author of the Gospel, apart from considerations of time, such as are said to be displayed by the Gospel itself, and upon which we have touched in the foregoing chapters, are not very strong. There is a tendency to emphasize the fact that the Apostle was one of the "primitive band," and to suggest that therefore he was incapable of producing such a work. Of course, if we insist that he was, like St. Peter, an uncouth provincial, whose very dialect betrayed him to the inhabitants of the metropolis in the dwelling of the high priest, there is no more to be said. And yet the result of travel, with its necessary educative force, worked a great change in St. Peter, as is shown in the Acts and the first (and undoubted) Epistle which bears his name. St. John, however, was not necessarily of the same social standing as

St. Peter. Indeed there is every reason to suppose that he was not. As has been often pointed out, Zebedee appears to have been a person of substance ; and the following of a trade was, of course, according to the excellent Jewish custom. In the Gospel the Apostle appears as one known to the high priest, and having the entrée into his house. Besides all this there is the fact of his long sojourn in Asia, in close touch with Greek thought and culture. How could this fail to leave its mark on the man ? When we read the Gospel we at once feel and know the influence of all this on the writer ; but if we look carefully we feel also the difference between the Gospel and the Synoptists is largely one of phraseology and presentment rather than of underlying reality. I think this grows upon one more and more. Each Gospel bears its own individual characteristics : St. Mark, the simple setting forth of all that the writer could remember, with no intention to do more than record ; St. Matthew, the complete dependence upon sources shown by an editor who seems to have little knowledge of, or skill in, compilation ; St. Luke, the true historian, using to the best advantage all the material upon which he could lay his hands, and yet manifestly a man of wider outlook and more thoughtful mould ; and then St. John, his facts rooted in his own remembrance, his mind widened and polished by close contact with a world of thought, his personal ideas and notions

guided towards a settled and systematized theology by the powerful influence of St. Paul, his conception of what before had been indistinct, fired by events of years and by a life of devotion. What other form could we conceive of as likely to embody the message such an one had to deliver? Primitive he was, in the sense of his experience, and yet how far above the others from the beginning, because of that closer touch with the Master into which he was called, in perception, in readiness to hear and assimilate, in desire to remember, and, ultimately, to record. True, it would all be impossible, unthinkable, in a St. Peter, or a St. James, writing within a year or two of the great events, but the glimpses given us of the Apostle by tradition make it all perfectly natural. Nor was tradition concocted to bolster up the Gospel, or as the outcome of it. The two are independent, and yet are interdependent witnesses, casting their light upon the genesis and growth of this wonderful Gospel.

Another sneer, for I can call it nothing else, is levelled at the Gospel. It is contended that while St. Peter is exalted in importance, especially in the final chapters of the Gospel, it is only in order that "the other disciple" may be shown to be greater and more important still; and that whereas in St. Mark the failures of St. Peter are not glossed over, yet in the Fourth Gospel not a word is to be found derogatory to the character of this other

disciple. Is not this all very much exaggerated? If any such had been the idea of the author of the Gospel, how very little use he makes of his chances. Many are the occasions in the Gospel where he could have brought in allusions without undue prominence, the cumulative weight of which would have been very strong. But of the narrative itself no such thing can be said. The coming to the house of the high priest could not be more naturally or sincerely told; the rush of St. Peter into the tomb is exactly what we should have expected of him from the Synoptic picture of his character; the last prophecy to St. Peter and the indication of the survival of the other disciple was so obviously recorded somewhat later, in order to rectify false theories; for, in spite of the chapter, did not later tradition persist in saying that he was not dead, but only asleep, and that the ground where he lay buried heaved with his breathing. There is not much in the nature of disparagement said of the Apostle in the Synoptic narrative. The only instance, indeed, of anything of the sort is the rebuke administered by Christ to the "sons of thunder" in Lk 9<sup>53</sup>, when they had suggested that a sudden judgment from heaven should be called down upon the inhospitable Samaritans, after the example of Elijah in 2 Kings 1<sup>10</sup>. There was no reason why the writer of the Fourth Gospel, whoever he was, should incorporate this incident into his account; indeed, according to

the principles we have laid down, there was every reason why he should not. He makes no attempt to deny the truth of it, and in common with the other Synoptic matter, which he passes over without comment, he tacitly allows the truth of it. This is emphasized by the deliberate corrections.

In one other passage reference is made to the Apostle, namely, Mk 10<sup>35ff.</sup> (cp. Mt 20<sup>20ff.</sup>), where James and John, the sons of Zebedee, came to Christ and asked that they might be accorded the privilege of sitting one on His right hand and one on His left in His Kingdom. The first Evangelist makes a slight correction, which I think we should accept, in stating that the demand came from their mother. What could have prompted either the young men or their mother to suppose that such an exaltation would be likely to be accorded to them more than to any other two of the Twelve? I can see no possible explanation other than that our Lord had shown them, or one of them, special signs of affection and approbation. This falls in with the fourth Evangelist's description of himself as "the disciple whom Jesus loved," and is another touch linking the authorship with the Apostle St. John. It is all very well to emphasize the presence of St. Peter's denial in the Petrine Gospel, but it is not so certain that that Apostle would have made so much of it had he been himself the actual author. He has no allusion to it in his Epistle.

Of all the theories which are against attributing the authorship to the Apostle, the most attractive and probable is that of Dr. Delff and his followers; and they have the further merit of allowing that the Fourth Gospel is historical, though in some cases they involve curious contradictions, and add to the difficulties. I am certain in my own mind that the person who chose to treat the Synoptists according to the method here shown, must have been one whose authority was such as to satisfy not only the immediate circle among whom he lived, for his temporary position would possibly do that, but the Church at large. Such authority could only have been possessed by one whose claim to have been present during the major portion of the discourses which he records could be substantiated. Nor would that claim have been lightly admitted. It is a matter for much regret that so little of the sub-apostolic literature has survived to our own day; but we must depend upon tradition to a large extent, and we must also be ready to admit the weight of such tradition where it is available. With the single exception of the rather indistinct sect of the Alogi, tradition is all upon the side of the Apostle St. John as the author. I am quite ready to be convinced that the beloved disciple was also named John, and was the author of the Gospel, when sufficient proof is forthcoming, but I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that all evidence points us

to the fact that the Apostle must have been alive when such a person wrote. It would follow from this that his apostolic authority would certainly have been invoked by his namesake for the work. We are also at once confronted by the question, How was it that such a person became the "shining light of Asia" (as Delff has it) during the lifetime of one of the Twelve? I do not say it was impossible, but maintain that it was in the highest degree unlikely. Until more proof, then, as to the identity of this person is forthcoming, I shall continue to believe that the Fourth Gospel was the work of the Apostle St. John.

## APPENDIX

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### EXCURSUS A

#### ON THE MSS. OF THE GOSPEL

REFERENCES to manuscripts in this work are but few, but some knowledge of the MSS. is essential to a thorough study of the Gospel. There are some seventy-three Greek uncial MSS. of the Gospels, which are designated by the capital letters of the English, Greek, and Hebrew alphabets, as A B C D, etc. Cursives or minuscules, *i.e.* those written in a running hand, as opposed to the capitals of the uncials, are denoted by figures, as 1 2 3, etc. The small English type is used to imply the old Latin versions. The most important uncials for the criticism of the Gospels are  $\aleph$  A B C D L, while of the cursives 33 is most valuable. Of these  $\aleph$  and B contain the Fourth Gospel complete, while the others have but small lacunæ.  $\aleph$  (codex Sinaiticus) and B (codex Vaticanus) are generally supposed to be of the fourth century; A (codex Alexandrinus)

and C (codex Ephraemi), of the fifth; D (codex Bezae), a study in itself, of the sixth; L (codex Regius), of the eighth; and 33 (sometimes called the “queen of cursives”), about the tenth century.

The Latin and Syriac versions are most important. Of the latter the official text is that called the Peshitta, referred to as *Syr<sup>soh(aaf)</sup>* from Schaaf's famous edition, goes back to a very early form of text; but calculations on this subject have been somewhat upset by recent discoveries. In 1842 Dr. Cureton found a very old Syriac MS. of the four Gospels, which is designated *Syr<sup>cur</sup>*, while in 1892 Mrs. Lewis and her sister Mrs. Gibson came across a Syriac palimpsest on Mt. Sinai, which still further complicated the problem as to which gives us the earliest form of text. This latter is generally mentioned as *Syr<sup>sin</sup>*. The works of Drs. Westcott and Hort, Nestle, Kenyon, and Scrivener should be referred to for fuller details; but for the average reader there is an excellent little treatise by Dr. Kirsopp Lake in the Oxford Church Text-Book series, entitled, *The Text of the New Testament*.

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## EXCURSUS B

## ON THE ALLEGED MARTYRDOM OF ST. JOHN

This question has been fully discussed many times, but a short statement of the position of affairs may perhaps be useful here. For a full discussion the reader may be referred to a very able article by Dean Bernard in the *Irish Church Quarterly* for Jan. 1908, or to Dr. Drummond (*op. cit.* p. 228 ff.).

In a MS. of the chronicle of George Hamartolus (*i.e.* the sinner), a ninth-century writer, is found the following passage: "After Domitian, Nerva reigned one year; and he, having recalled John from the island, dismissed him to live in Ephesus. Then, being the only survivor of the twelve disciples, and having composed the Gospel according to him, he has been deemed worthy of martyrdom. For Papias, the Bishop of Hierapolis, having been an eye-witness of him (*τούτον*), says in the second book (*λόγῳ*) of the *Oracles of the Lord*, that he was slain by the Jews, having, as is clear, with his brother James, fulfilled the prediction of Christ concerning him, and his own confession and assent in regard to this. . . . And so also the very learned Origen, in the commentary on Matthew, affirms that John *μεμαρτύρηκεν*, intimating that he had learned this from the successors of the Apostles." The statements in the above are some-

what confused ; and it is evident, as Harnack (*Chron.*) and Lightfoot (*Essays on Supernatural Religion*, p. 210 ff.) both agree, that the writer has somehow mistaken the language of Papias. This is shown to be very likely from the fact that he misquotes Origen. The commentary of that Father on Mt 20<sup>23</sup> is still extant, and it expressly states that “ the King of the Romans, as tradition teaches, condemned John, *witnessing* for the word of truth, to the island of Patmos.” If George Hamartolus is thus incorrect in the inference which he draws from Origen, it is highly probable that he is also incorrect in his representation of what was said by Papias. However, De Boor in 1885 published in *Texte und Untersuchungen* what purports to be an extract from a fifth-century writer, Philip of Sidé. It runs as follows : “ Papias, in his second book, says that John the Divine (Θεολόγος) and James his brother were slain by the Jews.” A grave objection to this is the use of the expression “ the Divine ”; but it also seems evident that there was a passage in the writings of Papias capable of being interpreted in the above way. On the other hand, it could not very well have borne this as an obvious meaning, or else, surely, we should find a greater number of references to it, and among them some persons of more weight than these two obscure writers. There were plenty of people in most ages who would have been glad enough to make use of such evidence. Further still,

the known authorities must have been aware of the passage, and the traditional authorship of the Gospel could scarcely have arisen at all. There is some slight apparent confirmation to be found in one or two ancient kalendars, but Dean Bernard shows that these can be easily explained. The point I should prefer to emphasize is the very slight and comparatively late testimony thus produced. What shouts of laughter would be provoked if we were to endeavour to prove any "traditional" point upon such external evidence! It only shows that in criticism everything depends for the critic upon his own personal point of view.

### EXCURSUS C

#### ST. JOHN THE APOSTLE IN TRADITION

A word or two on this subject may be of interest, as it has been referred to in the body of the work. The first mention of the Apostle outside the New Testament is by Tertullian in his *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum* (36), where he tells of a visit to Rome. The Apostle is shown as being put into a cauldron of boiling oil, and yet being miraculously saved from death,—an event commemorated in the kalendar of the Book of Common Prayer on 6th May. We are next told that he escaped to an island, though no

indication of date is given. This, however, is supplied by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 18), who places the event in the persecution of Domitian; and the testimony of Irenæus supports him, with the information that the Apocalypse was composed "towards the end of the reign of Domitian." Eusebius, in the twentieth chapter of the same book of the *Ecclesiastical History*, tells us that the accession of Nerva saw the advent of the Apostle to Ephesus; and later the information is vouchsafed that he lived and worked there until the time of Trajan (c. 98). All this, with the possible exception of the incident at Rome, is quite simple, and worthy of all credence. The possibility that it all refers to some other John seems to me to be remote. So far there is no reason against supposing that we have historical facts plainly stated. We then enter upon the region of anecdote, which may or may not be true. Such stories are always related of famous persons, and some of them are so simple and beautiful as to be entirely in keeping with our conception of the aged Apostle; others are as obviously conjectural and legendary. Eusebius preserves two, one on the authority of Polycrates, a later Bishop of Ephesus, to the effect that he was a priest at Ephesus, and wore the high-priestly mitre (*πεφορηκώς τὸ πέταλον*). The exact meaning and significance of this it is not easy to understand, unless we suppose that the Apostle taught that the Christian hierarchy was the lineal descendant of the Jewish,

and emphasized his teaching by assuming the Jewish ecclesiastical vestments. Dr. Delff suggests from this that the beloved disciple was not the Apostle, but a member of a priestly family in Jerusalem (see Sanday, *Crit. of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 17). The other anecdote the historian presents on the authority of Apollinarius, to the effect that St. John performed a miracle of raising from the dead. Clement of Alexandria tells a touching story of the devotion with which the old man followed into the fastnesses of the interior a former pupil of his own who had become a brigand chief, and of the successful issue of the venture; while Jerome (comm. on Gal. vi. 10) gives us as pathetic a picture of the aged Apostle, no longer able to walk, or to speak more than a few words. When carried into church for the purpose of addressing the people, his only discourse was a reiteration of the commandment, "Little children, love one another"; and in reply to remonstrances said, "preceptum Domini est, et si solum fiat, sufficit." Of the reasons which led to the composition of the Gospel, Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iii. iii. 4) says that the Apostle used to argue with the heretic Cerinthus, and wrote for the purpose of counteracting such opinions. In the Muratorian fragment a different version of the genesis of the Gospel is given, for it is said that St. Andrew urged him to write, and that the Holy Spirit communicated with him to the same effect. It is Augustine who preserves the

story once current which suggested that the Apostle had not died, and that the ground where he was buried could be seen to heave as the result of his breathing.

## EXCURSUS D

### A LITERARY NOTE

No attempt can be made to give here a complete bibliography. It may be useful, however, to some readers if we indicate some of the more important and more accessible works on the subject. Many works will be found referred to in Dr. Reynolds' article on the Gospel in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, which should certainly be consulted. The same writer has an admirable introduction to the Gospel in the *Pulpit Commentary*. The earlier criticism of the Gospel is ably set forth in Dr. Watkins' *Bampton Lectures* for 1890, copies of which are now scarce. More recent and very helpful is Dr. Sanday's *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*. Vol. i. of Dr. Stanton's *The Gospels as Historical Documents* is invaluable; while of works in English dealing exclusively with the Fourth Gospel, Bp. Westcott's commentary reprinted from the Speaker's Commentary is outstanding; a newer edition, enlarged and with the Greek text, has just been published in two volumes. Dr. Drummond's *Character and*

*Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* is the fullest and best English work on the introduction to the Gospel. For German scholars, the section dealing with the subject in Zahn's monumental *Einleitung* should certainly be read; while in French a fine recent study of the subject is afforded by M. Lepin's *Origine du quatrième Évangile*. These all approach the subject from the conservative and traditional point of view; upon the other side there is a great deal on the subject in Weizsäcker's *Apostolic Age*, Jülicher's *Introduction to the N.T.*, and von Soden's *Early Christian Literature*, all of which are representative, and available in English translations. Pfleiderer's *Urchristenthums* is shortly to be translated, the Pauline portion being now published. Schmiedel's article in the *Encycl. Biblia* should be read, and in German the works of the two Holtzmanns. Réville (*Le quatrième Évangile*) and Loisy (*Le quatrième Évangile* and *L'Évangile et L'Église*) represent French negative criticism, and both regard the Gospel as an allegorical work. Partition theories are growingly popular in dealing with New Testament literature, nor has the Fourth Gospel escaped, Wendt (*Das Johannes-Evangelium*) and Dr. C. A. Briggs (*New Light on the Life of Jesus*) being the chief exponents. Dr. Delff (*Das vierte Evangelium*), Dr. Harnack (*Chronologie*), Dr. Moffatt (*Historical N.T.*), Dr. McGiffert (*History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*), and Dr. Bacon (*Introduction to the*

*N.T.*) all hold a middle view. On the theology of the Johannine books Mr. E. F. Scott has written carefully, though rejecting the traditional authorship, in *The Fourth Gospel*, and Dr. Stevens' *Theology of the N.T.* should be consulted.



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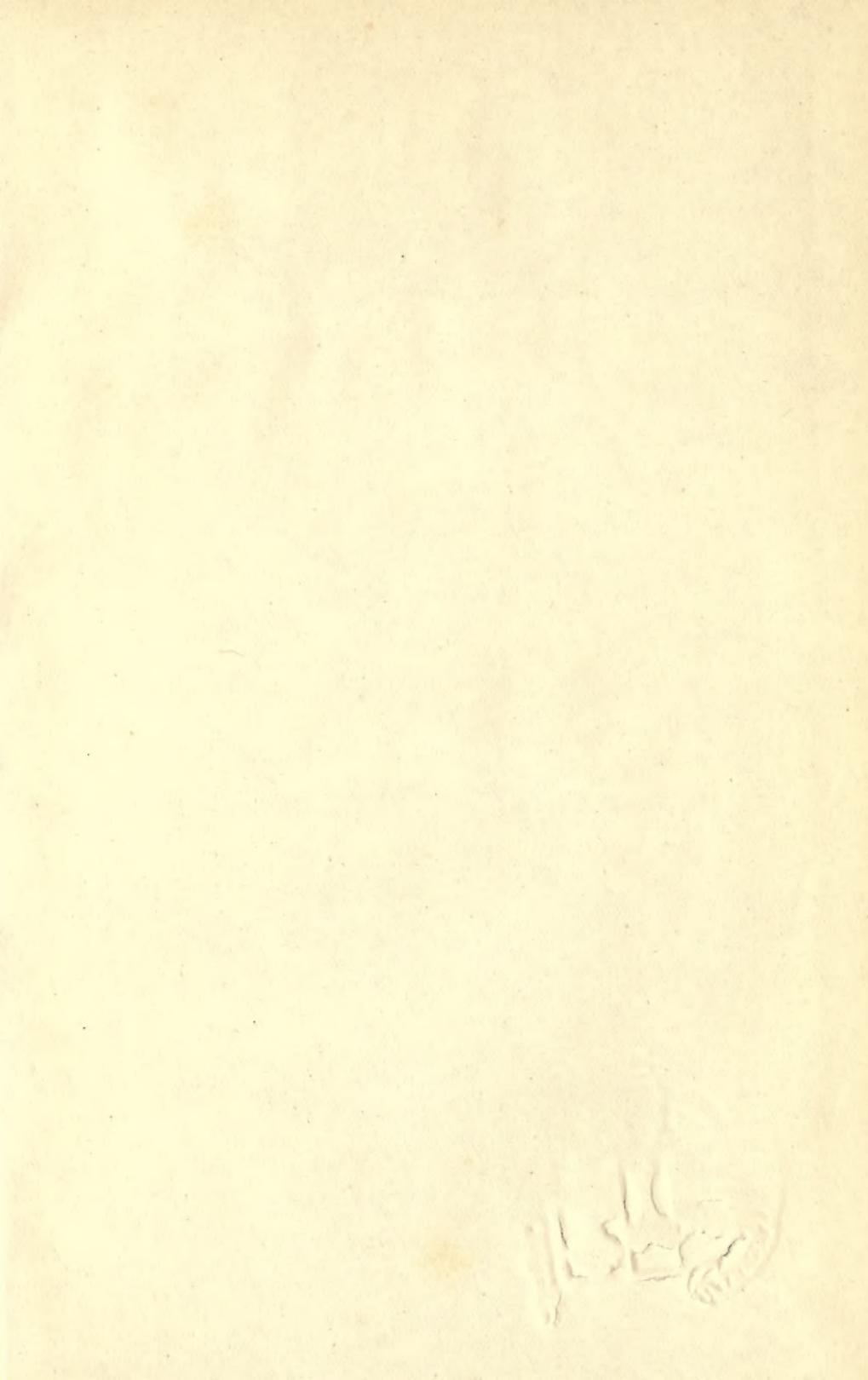
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